

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM AND VIJAYANAGAR

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THE
DELHI SULTANATE

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CHAPTER XI

THE BAHMANÍ KINGDOM

P. M. Joshi

1. THE ORIGIN OF BAHMAN SHĀH.

Reference has been made above¹ to the successful revolt in the Deccan, in A.D. 1345, during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, and the accession, two years later, of an *amīr*, named Hasan Gangū bearing the title Zafar Khān, to the throne at Daulatābād as Abu'l Muzaffar 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh.

As usually happens, various stories were current regarding the early life and family history of the parvenu king. Even at the time when Firishta wrote, there were too many of them and the one that he gives as the most credible may be summarised as follows:

"Hasan, a native of Delhi, was a servant of a Brahman named Gangū. Once Hasan, while tilling the field, chanced to discover a copper pot full of gold coins, which he carried to his master. Impressed by his honesty, the Brahman brought the fact to the notice of the Sultān, who appointed him to the command of one hundred horse. The Brahman, who was an astrologer, prophesied his future greatness, and made him promise that if he ever became a king he would assume the title Gangū."

Tabātabā and Nizām-ud-dīn, the authors respectively of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, both of whom wrote earlier than Firishta, give credit to the story that Hasan was descended from the hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and therefore the dynasty is called Bahmani. Firishta disbelieves the story and makes an emphatic assertion to the following effect: "It has been asserted that he was descended from Bahmun, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and I, the author, have even seen a pedigree of him so derived, in the royal library at Ahmudnuggur; but it was probably only framed, after his accession to the throne, by flatterers and poets, for I believe his origin was too obscure to admit of being traced. The appellation of Bahmuny he certainly took out of compliment to his master, Gungoo, the bramin, a word often pronounced bahmun. The King himself was by birth an Afghan." It is to be noted that though neither Tabātabā nor Nizām-ud-dīn refers to the Brahman episode, the latter as well as Yahyā, an earlier authority, calls the king Hasan Gangū or Kankū. The attempt to explain away Kankū as a scribe's corruption of Kaikāüs is hardly satisfactory.² The story given by

Firishta, therefore, cannot be dismissed off-hand as 'absurd',³ nor is it incompatible with epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as many have held. The title Bahman Shāh is mentioned in the Gulbarga Mosque Inscription and is also found on the coins of the dynasty. It seems to be the most appropriate appellation which the courtiers of 'Alā-ud-dīn could suggest to him, taking into consideration the king's sense of gratitude to the Brahman, Gangū, and the identity of the Persianized form, Bahman, of the caste name Brahman, with the name of the great Persian King Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. In Gulbarga there is, to this day, a street called Baihmanipurā, where the majority of the residents are Brahmans, and some of them describe themselves as descendants of Gangū.^{3a} On the whole, it seems much safer to leave open the question of the origin and early history of Hasan and the real significance of the dynastic appellation Bahmani. The story of Firishta cannot be set aside or even regarded as less probable than the descent from an ancient Persian hero. In any case we may reasonably hold that Hasan was born in humble life and was by his own efforts elevated to the throne.

The dynasty he founded became famous in history as the Bahmani dynasty and it ruled the Deccan for the next two hundred years.

2. THE GULBARGA PERIOD (1347-1422).

Soon after the ceremony at Daulatābād, Bahman Shāh selected Gulbarga as his capital. It remained the seat of the Bahmani government till about 1425 when, during the reign of Ahmad Shāh Vali (1422-1436), the capital was shifted to Bīdar. A great city grew in place of the old provincial town of Gulbarga with palaces for the Sultān and the grandees of his court, mosques, bazars and other public buildings. Situated centrally in the new kingdom, Gulbarga was able to command its Marāthī, Kannada and Telugu areas effectively.

The first task of Bahman Shāh was to impose his sovereignty over the many dissident elements that had grown up in the Deccan during the period of upheaval preceding his elevation to the throne. He sent his first expedition towards the Nāsik area to drive out the remnants of the Tughluq army in the Deccan and to show the flag of the new dynasty to the Hindu chiefs of Baglāna. His armies are said to have gone as far as the Dangs⁴ beyond Baglāna. Another expedition was directed to places near the capital, such as Akalkot, Bhum and Mundargī. "Each of the zamīndārs of that district (Mundargī) who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands..... but any who disputed his authority,

their country and goods were plundered, and they and those under them put to death".⁵ Isma'il Mukh, who had abdicated in favour of Bahman Shāh, was given a *jāgīr* near Jamkhandī in the hope that he would subdue that area and bring it under submission. But Nārāyaṇa, a Hindu chieftain of this area, succeeded in turning Isma'il against his king. This disaffection was shortlived, as, soon after, Isma'il was poisoned by the Hindu chief. The vigorous measures taken by Bahman Shāh for the punishment of Nārāyaṇa also enabled him to consolidate his rule in the present Bijāpur district. The Sultān then turned his attention towards Karhād and Kolhāpur and the passes leading to the Konkan ports of Dabhol and Khare-patan. It may be noted that the ports on the Konkan coast and the roads and passes leading to them were controlled by Gulbarga, and that much of the Konkan territory did not come into Bahmanī possession till Mahmūd Gāvān organized campaigns for this purpose in the next century. In the north-east, the territory up to Māhūr ($19^{\circ} 49' N$ and $77^{\circ} 58' E$) was brought under Bahmanī sway, and in the south, portions of western Telingāna including the strong fortress of Bhongīr ($17^{\circ} 31' N$ and $78^{\circ} 53' E$) were occupied. These expeditions also resulted in considerable material benefit by way of tributes in cash, jewellery and elephants and helped the Sultān in building a strong army. Thus was the newly created kingdom consolidated.⁶

Bahman Shāh's dominion had two Hindu neighbours, which, like itself, had emerged on the break-up of the Tughluq empire. One was Warangal, under Kāpaya Nāyaka,⁷ on the south and south-east, and the other, Vijayanagara, a more modern but more powerful State than Warangal, on the south and south-west. This proximity of two powerful Hindu kingdoms to an equally powerful Muslim kingdom explains the chronic warfare of the next hundred years that characterizes the history of the Deccan. The Bahmanī kingdom was determined to advance as far south as Madurā, the limit of the Tughluq empire, and the Hindu kingdoms were as determined to prevent this advance.

Bahman Shāh led his first campaign against Warangal in 1350 when he compelled its ruler Kāpaya Nāyaka to cede to him the fortress of Kaulās ($18^{\circ} 50' N$ and $77^{\circ} 80' E$) as the price of peace, and imposed on him an annual tribute. Henceforward, all wars between the Bahmanīs and Warangal can be traced either to Kāpaya's neglect to pay the stipulated tribute or to his demands for the restoration of Kaulās. According to Firishta, Bahman Shāh invaded the Carnatic, but it is doubtful whether it brought him into conflict with Vijayanagara itself. But the war certainly began in the next reign.

Bahman Shāh created an aristocracy by bestowing titles like *Khān* and *Malik* on the majority of his officers, while the more influential and powerful among them were decorated with special distinctions like *Qutb-ul-Mulk*, *Khvāja Jahān* etc. The highest title was *Amīr-ul-Umarā'* and this was given to Isma'il Mukh in recognition of the royal position he had occupied. The dignity of a royal court and royal palace also demanded many officials or *dīwāns*, and so positions of treasurer (*khazan*), superintendent of elephants (*shahnah-i-fil*), keeper of the seals (*dawāt-dār*), lord chamberlain (*sayyid-ul-hujjāb*), royal taster (*chāshnīgir*) etc. were created and bestowed on trusted servants.⁸ Two other positions were the royal secretary (*dabīr*) and constable of the city (*hājib-i-qasabah*) which in course of time were conferred upon persons with the rank of a minister rather than upon ordinary court officials.

The Sultān found a ready-made pattern of administration which he could adopt. Two years before the Deccan became independent, Muhammad Tughluq had divided it into four *shiqs*. Bahman Shāh accepted this idea and continued to have four divisions to each of which he appointed a governor with an appropriate title. He, however, discontinued the term *shiq* for these divisions.⁹

*'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh died in A.D. 1358 at the age of 67 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shāh.

*The reign of Muhammad Shāh saw the beginning of that long-drawn struggle with Vijayanagara which continued, with intervals, till the final breakdown of the latter kingdom. According to Firishta, the king's father, 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan, "sent a considerable force into the Carnatic" which returned with a rich booty exacted from "several rājas". In the absence of any specific reference to Vijayanagara, it can only mean a successful raid into the borderland between the two kingdoms. The actual war between the two newly founded succession states of the Sultanate broke out in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. It was a defensive war which Muhammad had to wage against the combination of the two Hindu States of Vijayanagara and Telingāna. It may be pointed out that the rivalry between the Bahmanī kingdom and Vijayanagara was primarily due to those political and economic factors which led, even in the Hindu period, to age-long struggles between the powers who occupied the two sides of the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā line such as the Chālukyas and the Pallavas, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Cholas, etc.

*The ruler of Telingāna, Kāpaya Nāyaka, formally demanded the fortress of Kaulās which 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan had wrested from him; while Bukka, the king of Vijayanagara demanded the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-*doāb*, presumably on the ground that it had always be-

longed to the southern State. As these two demands were presented almost simultaneously, there was hardly any doubt in the mind of Muhammad, that the two Hindu States had entered into an alliance against him, and this was really the case.

*After temporizing for some time, Muhammad Shāh not only refused the demands but made counter-demands upon the two Hindu kings. Thereupon Kāpaya sent his son Vināyaka Deva with a large army to seize the fortress of Kaulās, while Bukka sent twenty thousand men to his help and invaded the Rāichur *doāb* (A.D. 1362). The allied force was defeated near Kaulās and Kāpaya, being pursued up to Warangal, was forced to buy peace by offering a large amount of money and over twenty-five elephants. Soon after this agreement was reached, quarrel broke out again and Muhammad Shāh, by a surprise attack on Palampet, seized the young prince Vināyaka and put him to death with barbarous cruelty. In course of his return, the Sultān suffered a great deal from the guerilla tactics of the enemy. He was himself wounded and of his 4,000 soldiers only 1,500 returned with him. Next year Muhammad Shāh received a report from the secret service, instituted by him at Delhi, that Kāpaya, enraged at the death of his son, had approached Firūz Tughluq for assistance against him. He immediately invaded Telengāna (A.D. 1363) with a large army. Kāpaya was unable to withstand the force and concluded a treaty by paying a large amount of money and ceding Golconda which was fixed as the perpetual boundary between the two kingdoms. Kāpaya also presented a turquoise throne which henceforth was used as the royal throne of the Bahmanīs. This account is based almost entirely upon Firishta, and it is difficult to say whether we may accept it as unvarnished truth. As will be shown later, in the chapter on Vijayanagara, Firishta gives a similar account of the successive victories won by Muhammad Shāh against that kingdom. But the terms of the treaty which ended the war clearly indicate that Muhammad Shāh had to concede all the major demands of Bukka. The cession by Kāpaya of the fortress of Golconda is an undoubted fact, and indicates his discomfiture in the war. On the other hand, according to Firishta himself, when Muhammad Shāh began the campaign he was "resolved on the entire conquest of Telengāna",^{9a} and yet he concluded a treaty, fixing Golconda as the perpetual boundary between the Bahmani kingdom and Telengāna. This certainly indicates that perhaps the small Hindu principality of Telengāna did not fare as badly as Firishta would have us believe. Equally doubtful is Firishta's statement, that being reproached by the ambassadors of Vijayanagara for indiscriminate massacre of Hindu women and children, Muhammad Shāh "took an oath, that he would not, here-

after, put to death a single enemy after a victory and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct".^{9b} But Firishta exceeds all limits when he observes: "From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects".^{9c} The account of Firishta himself gives a direct lie to this statement.

The last campaign in Telingāna lasted for about two years and was immediately followed by a protracted war with Vijayanagara which will be described in the next chapter. After this campaign was over Muhammad Shāh reigned in peace and prosperity. He turned his attention to the improvement of administration and consolidation of authority over his extensive kingdom till his death in A.D. 1375. Muhammad Shāh indulged in wine and other vices, but a story is told how in deference to the wishes of a pious *shaikh*, Muhammad Shāh abjured the use of wine in public and ordered the closure of distilleries in the kingdom. This enforced temperance proved to be a shortlived reform and seems to have passed away towards the close of the Sultān's reign. The reign of Muhammad Shāh marks the beginning of an independent Deccan architecture to which reference will be made later. He was also the first to organize the artillery and to use it in fights against Vijayanagara.^{9d}

Muhammad I was succeeded by his son 'Alā-ud-dīn Mujāhid (1375) whose short reign is chiefly remembered for his Gargantuan appetite and physical prowess which earned him the sobriquet of '*balawant*'. The chief event of his short reign of about three years was his campaign against Vijayanagara as will be related later. While returning from this campaign, Mujāhid was murdered by his cousin Dāūd^{9e} (1378) who then ascended the throne. Within about a month, however, Mujāhid's partisans avenged his death by assassinating Dāūd, and setting on the throne Dāūd's brother, Muhammad II, in preference to Dāūd's son, Sanjar, who was blinded.

The king of Vijayanagara took advantage of these political troubles to wrest a large slice of territory on the western coast, including the port of Goa. But barring this, the long reign of Muhammad II was on the whole peaceful, and he put an end to palace and court intrigues and the regicide atmosphere that had grown in the capital. The Sultān was, however, no match for his rival, the king of Vijayanagara, who consolidated his authority in the eastern regions in defiance of him, as well be related later. Muhammad Shāh II was essentially a man of culture, and he tried to attract to his kingdom men of piety and erudition. He made Faizullāh Anjū, one of the learned divines of the time, *Sadr-i-Jahān* or Chief Justice and Minister for Religious Endowments, and invited the great Hāfiẓ

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to his court. But the poet, on being caught in a storm on embarkation at Ormuz, decided to abandon his voyage. He sent an ode to the king instead, for which a rich present was returned to him by the royal patron. The Sultān himself was a very learned man and was nick-named Aristotle by his subjects. With learning he combined an abiding interest in the welfare of his subjects. When his kingdom was ravaged by a famine he made prompt and efficient arrangement for the transport of grain from Gujarāt and Mālwa and its distribution among Muslims only at cheap rates. He established orphanages in various centres in the kingdom two of which were at the Konkan ports of Chaul and Dabhol.¹⁰

Muhammad II died in April 1397, and was succeeded by Ghiyās-ud-dīn. Malik Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī, the powerful and able Bahmanī minister who had rendered distinguished and loyal services to the new dynasty since the reign of its founder and had a large share in setting up the Bahmanī administrative machinery, died the very next day after Muhammad II. A Turkish faction now raised its head in Gulbarga under the leadership of Taghachīn, an unscrupulous adventurer. The king had incurred Taghachīn's wrath by refusing to appoint him to the governorship of Gulbarga and to the position of *Vakīl-us-saltanat* rendered vacant by the death of Saif-ud-dīn Ghūrī. Unfortunately, the king, infatuated by the beauty of Taghachīn's daughter, put himself in his power and was seized, while alone, and blinded (June 1397). Taghachīn then raised to the throne Ghiyās-ud-dīn's younger half-brother as Shams-ud-dīn Dāūd Shāh. He had won over to his cause the young king's mother, who had been a maid-servant of Ghiyās-ud-dīn's mother, and with her support he became the regent of the kingdom. This degradation of the royal family and the dominance which the upstart Taghachīn had acquired, excited the wrath of the late king's cousins Firūz and Ahmad, who were married to his sisters, daughters of Muhammad II. In the palace revolution that now followed Taghachīn was over-powered, Shams-ud-dīn was deposed, and Firūz Khān ascended the throne as Sultān Tāj-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh on November 16, 1397. Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the blinded and deposed king, who had been kept in confinement at Sāgar, was brought to Gulbarga, and Taghachīn was produced before the monarch whom he had so basely treated. The blind Ghiyās-ud-dīn with a sword struck at Taghachīn and slew him.¹¹

*Firūz Shāh had an eventful reign of twenty-five years (1397-1422). It was marked by three distinct campaigns against Vijayanagara in 1398, 1406 and 1417. In spite of Firishta's grandiloquent description of the brilliant successes of Firūz in his first campaign

culminating in the siege of Vijayanagara, the silence of other Muslim chroniclers seems to indicate that Firūz did not probably invade the Rāichur *doāb*, far less advance up to the capital city Vijayanagara. The campaign does not seem to have brought any conspicuous success on either side, as will be related later.

*But far more important were the two subsidiary campaigns waged by Firūz. The first was against the Gond Rājā Narsing Rai of Kherla, about four miles north of Betul in Madhya Pradesh. According to Firishta, he had invaded Berar at the instigation of the neighbouring Muslim rulers of Mālwa and Khāndesh, and on the advice of the Rājā of Vijayanagara. After concluding treaty with Vijayanagara, Firūz proceeded against Narsing who offered a stubborn resistance but not having received any help from outside, as he hoped, offered submission.

*Far different was the state of affairs in Telingāna where the two rival factions, the Vemas and Velamas, were actively supported, respectively, by the rulers of Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī kingdom. Here, again, Firishta speaks of the uniform success of Firūz, but in reality he could achieve very little. At first when the main army of Firūz was occupied on the banks of the Krishnā fighting against Vijayanagara, the forces of the latter won complete victory in Telingāna. After the conclusion of treaty with Vijayanagara and the submission of Kherla, Firūz advanced in full force to Telingāna. He obtained some successes at first, but was forced to retreat when Kātaya Vema's lieutenant, Allāda Reddi, defeated the Bahmanī commander, 'Alī Khān.

*Firishta's account of the second Bahmanī campaign against Vijayanagara begins with a romantic love episode of Devarāya, and ends with his daughter's marriage with the Muslim Sultān, which was a unique event in those days. But the omission of all reference to this marriage by Nizām-ud-dīn, and a very different account of the whole campaign by a still earlier author throw doubt on the entire account of Firishta about the success of Firūz.

The third campaign (A.D. 1417-20) centred round the siege of the fort of Pāngal by Firūz and ended in his total discomfiture by the army of Vijayanagara. Firūz, being defeated, escaped from the field, and his territory was laid waste with fire and sword. Thus the net result of the long-drawn struggle between the Bahmanī kingdom and Vijayanagara was a stalemate. The *status quo* was maintained and the Rāichur *doāb*, the bone of contention, remained in possession of Vijayanagara.

The defeat and discomfiture of Firūz weighed so heavily on his mind, and undermined his prestige to such an extent that the forces

of unrest once again reared up their head. Added to this was the rift between him and the famous Khvāja Gīsū Darāz, the saint openly declaring that the Sultān's brother, Ahmad, should be the next ruler instead of Hassan, the son of Firūz. Attempts were made by two courtiers of Firūz to imprison Ahmad Khān, but the partisanship shown towards him by the saint influenced the army which declared for Ahmad. The royal force was defeated by Ahmad and he besieged the capital. The old and sick Firūz was carried into the battlefield, but he swooned, and the citadel surrendered. Firūz realized his position and wisely offered the throne to his brother, himself abdicating. Ahmad ascended the throne at Gulbarga on September 22, 1422, and on October 2, Firūz died.

Firūz was an enlightened ruler, but not a rigid Muslim. Though fond of wine and music, he delighted in holding learned discourses with philosophers, poets, historians and other learned men whom he gathered round him. He encouraged the pursuit of astronomy and built an observatory near Daulatābād. He constructed the new city of Firūzābād on the Bhīmā and occasionally used it as his capital. He devoted much attention to the two principal ports of his kingdom, Chaul and Dabhol, which attracted trading ships from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and poured into the kingdom articles of necessity and luxury not only from Persia, Arabia and the African coast, but also from Europe. It is said that he was an accomplished linguist and a good calligrapher, and that he used to copy sixteen pages of the *Qur'ān* every four days. Though nominally an orthodox Sunnī, he was not averse to make use of the license, given by later theologians, for contracting many temporary marriages. He thus collected a large harem consisting of women of many nationalities and it was his boast that he could speak to each of them in her own tongue.

3. BAHMANI ADMINISTRATION.

The reign of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī saw the end of the Gulbarga period of the dynasty. In spite of regicides and internal troubles this was a period of expansion, consolidation and struggle against external powers which began soon after Zafar Khān had founded the Bahmanī kingdom. The Bahmanī administrative system was modelled on the Islamic pattern. The king was the supreme power in the State. He was ruler, judge, administrator, military leader, sometimes even preacher and leader of public worship. His duties were as all-embracing as his authority. The king was the shadow of God on earth. But only Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī (1375-78) seems to have claimed this distinction.¹²

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, was content to acknowledge the theoretical supremacy of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate; he had a black canopy over his throne in the 'Abbāsid fashion¹³ and on his coins he styled himself as "right hand of the Caliphate".¹⁴

Though in theory the king's authority was unlimited, in practice he depended on the advice of his ministers in deciding questions of State policy. The chief duty of the ministers was, of course, implicit obedience to the king's wishes. They were responsible to him in the smallest matters and held office during his pleasure.

The chief minister was called *vakīl-us-sultanat*. All orders issued by the king passed through him and bore his seal. The minister for finance was the *amīr-i-jumla*. The *wazīr-i-ashraf* was in charge of external affairs. Two other ministers were the *wazīr-i-kull* and the *peshwa* with somewhat undefined duties. The *sadr-i-jahān* was the chief judicial authority and was in charge of religious matters and religious endowments.¹⁵ There were various other junior ministers like the *nāzir* and the *kotwāl*¹⁶ on the civil side and *qūr beg-i-maisarah* (commander of the left wing) and the *qūr beg-i-maimanah* (commander of the right wing) on the military side.¹⁷

The provincial administrative system of the Bahmanīs owes its origin to the founder of the kingdom. 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh had divided his kingdom into four divisions, each of which was entrusted to an officer. During the reign of his son Muhammad, these divisions were named *tarafs*, and the officers in charge of them, called *tarafdarīs*.¹⁸ These provincial governors were supreme in their respective divisions. "They collected the revenue, raised and commanded the army and made all appointments both civil and military, in their provinces".¹⁹ Naturally they tended to become powerful. But during the early days of the Bahmanīs, they were held in check by the strong personality of the king himself, who, every year, spent some time in touring the various divisions and in supervising the administration of his officers. Moreover the *tarafdarīs* could be, and were indeed, transferred from one province to another.²⁰ The Bahmani kingdom slowly grew in extent and in the reign of Muhammad Shāh III (Lashkari) reached its furthest limits. Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous minister of Muhammad Shāh Lashkari, re-divided the kingdom into eight *sarlashkarships*.²¹ This arrangement and the system of transfers were intended to control the power of the *tarafdarīs*. But they failed to cure the evils which were further accentuated by civil war.

Usually one, and some time more, of these *tarafdarīs* were also ministers at the Bahmani court. Mahmūd Gāvān was the *vakīl-us-*

sultanat to Humāyūn Shāh (1458-1461) and also *tarafdar* of the Bijāpur division. Similarly during the succeeding reign, Khvāja Jahān, who was *vakīl* to Nizām Shāh Bahmanī (1461-1463), was also the governor of Telingāna; and Mahmūd Gāvān, who was made both *amīr-i-jumla* and *vazīr-i-kull*, was retained in charge of Bijāpur.²² Each of the *tarafdar*s was, *ipso facto*, a military officer and held the rank of a commander of 2,000 horse.²³

The sub-division of a *taraf* was known as *sarkār*, which in its turn was further divided into *parganas*. A *pargana* consisted of a certain number of villages, the village being the smallest unit of administration.

4. THE BIDAR PERIOD (1422-1538).

Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, the successor of Firūz and famous in history as the *Valī* or saint, seems to have shifted the Bahmanī capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar some time about 1425.²⁴ After the conquest of Warangal, the Bahmanī kingdom extended in the east and Bīdar was the most central point for this augmented dominion. The three linguistic areas of the kingdom converged on this city; it had moreover a far better climate than Gulbarga and strategically a far stronger situation. But there was perhaps a political motive behind this change to which reference will be made in the chapter on Vijayanagara.

Almost immediately after his accession, Ahmad Shāh decided to carry out the unfulfilled wishes of his brother, and declared war on Devarāya II of Vijayanagara. Firishta, in his usual manner, describes how the Bahmanī king forced Devarāya II to sue for peace by laying his country waste and besieging his capital. The Rājā of Warangal, who had joined Devarāya II and then deserted him, soon paid the penalty for his folly. After the close of his campaign against Vijayanagara, Ahmad Shāh marched towards Warangal in 1425. The Rājā was defeated and slain, and Warangal was finally annexed to the Bahmanī kingdom.

It was during Ahmad Shāh's reign (1422-1436) that the Bahmanī kingdom first came into conflict with the kingdoms of Mālwa and Gujarāt which like itself had risen out of the Tughluq empire. In the conflict against Mālwa, Ahmad Shāh carried the victorious Bahmanī flag into that dominion and overawed it with his might so that during the rest of his reign there was no further trouble between the two kingdoms.

Ahmad's conflict against Gujarāt was of his own seeking. He took sides with a Hindu chieftain of the Gujarāt kingdom who had risen in revolt against his overlord, the Sultān of Gujarāt, and had

come to Ahmad Shāh Valī *via* Khāndesh. In A.D. 1429, Bahmanī troops were sent to help the rebel and they raided the Nandurbār district of the Gujarāt dominion only to be expelled from there and to be driven out of Khāndesh back into Bahmanī territory. Next year (1430) another Bahmanī army, under Khalaf Hasan Basrī, was sent to occupy the island of Salsette. It encamped on the Mahim creek with the Gujarāt army facing it on the opposite (Bandra) side. But this attempt to occupy Gujarāt territory also proved futile. In this campaign we see the beginning of the Deccani-*pardesi* rivalry. The Deccani officers under Khalaf Hasan treacherously quitted his camp with the result that the Gujarātis were able to gain an easy victory over Khalaf Hasan. It was most probably in this campaign that the islands of Mahim and some territory south of it were annexed to the Gujarāt kingdom. The hostilities against Gujarāt made Ahmad seek the alliance of Khāndesh which was achieved by the marriage of the Sultān's son, 'Alā-ud-dīn, with the daughter of Nasīr Khān Farruqī.

After the death of Ahmad Shāh Valī his son, 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad, who succeeded him, built a magnificent dome over the grave of his father on the outskirts of the new capital. The ceiling and walls of this tomb were decorated with paintings composed of calligraphic devices or floral designs. The colours of these paintings, especially of those on the ceiling, are still fresh and bright as if they were done only a few years ago. These paintings are considered unique in India for their beauty and elegance. From one of the inscriptions in the tomb we get the correct date of Ahmad Shāh's death, 29th Ramzan, 839 (April 17, 1436). A very interesting practice connected with this tomb is that an annual fair is held near it, in honour of the Valī, by the priests of the Liṅgāyat sect, a ceremony which, legend claims, started when the tomb was built.

The reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad (1436-1458) opened with a campaign against Vijayanagara, and there was another struggle in A.D. 1443-4. Both were confined to the Rāichur *doāb* and will be described later. 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad subdued the chiefs of the Konkan region. In the year of his accession an army was sent against the Rājā of Sangameśvar ($17^{\circ} 16' N$ and $73^{\circ} 33' E$) who not only offered submission but gave his beautiful daughter in marriage to the Sultān. This lady, known to history as *Pari-chehra* or *Zibā-chehra* (Fairy face), was the Sultān's favourite queen, and the cause of much jealousy and annoyance to the first queen, the daughter of Nasīr Khān of Khāndesh. Nasīr Khān, partly instigated by his daughter and partly encouraged by the Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa, declared hostilities against his son-in-law and marched with

an army into his dominion. Khalaf Hasan Basrī was once again entrusted with the charge of the Bahmanī army which consisted exclusively of *pardesīs*. With the defeat at Mahim due to the treachery of the Deccanis, still fresh in his mind, Khalaf Hasan was able to persuade the king and the Deccani *Vakīl-us-Sultanat* Miyān Minullāh to agree to such a step. He inflicted a defeat on the Khāndeshis on the battlefields of Berar and drove them back into their territory. But this new policy of exclusion rankled in the minds of the Deccanis, and finally led to the massacre of the *pardesīs* at Chākan, as will be described in the next section.

The last years of 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad's reign were marked by the rebellion of his brother-in-law, Jalāl Khān, who proclaimed himself as king of Telingāna (1455). The Sultān himself marched against the rebel who took refuge in the fortress of Nalgondā ($17^{\circ} 3' N$ and $79^{\circ} 16' E$) and sent his son, Sikandar, towards Mālwa to beseech the help of that kingdom. Sikandar gained support of Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa by representing that 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad was dead and disorder had broken out in the Bahmanī dominion. 'Alā-ud-dīn at this juncture placed Mahmūd Gāvān in charge of the siege of Nalgondā, and proceeded to the north to meet the danger created by the conduct of Sikandar. Mahmūd Khaljī, finding that he had been misled by false information about the death of the Bahmanī Sultān, relinquished his campaign and retired to his kingdom. Mahmūd Gāvān secured royal pardon both for Jalāl Khān and his son and their rebellion was over. This is the first occasion when Mahmūd Gāvān, the great Bahmanī minister and one of the greatest figures of medieval India, comes first into notice. He had arrived at Dabhol in 1453 as a merchant and finding his way to Bīdar and attracting royal notice, had been enrolled in Bahmanī service and entrusted with the siege of Nalgondā. In this very first task Gāvān had acquitted himself creditably; his rise henceforth at the Bahmanī court was rapid.

'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad's reign is notable for the large hospital he established in his capital early during his reign. A number of villages were endowed to this institution from the revenues of which were paid the cost of medicine and food of the patients and possibly also the salaries of the staff. Both Hindu and Muslim physicians were employed in this hospital²⁵ and it can be inferred from this that it was open to patients irrespective of caste and religion. In this connection it may be mentioned that for about the last four years of his life the Sultān suffered from a festering wound in one of his shins, and, if the account of the Marāṭhī *Gurucharitra* written in c. A.D. 1550 is to be believed, the Sultān got some relief from the ministrations of Nr̄isimha Sarasvatī, famous in his time as a saintly

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person and revered by people to this day. It is said that the Sultān, despairing of cure for his ills, as a last resort went to the Svāmī who himself visited the royal patient in his capital and cured him. Some of the present day scholars attribute the death of the king to his wound, but neither Firishta nor Tabātabā make any statement to that effect, and the latter merely states that the Sultān died in Jamadi 1, 862 A.H. (April, 1458).

The short reign of Humāyūn (1458-1461) was marred by constant unrest and rebellions in the kingdom and among its Hindu vassals. The stern and ruthless attempts of the Sultān to put down these forces of disorder seem to have earned for him the sobriquet Zālim (cruel) at the hands of Firishta. This chronicler records the most horrid deeds of cruelty perpetrated by Humāyūn.^{25a} Nor does the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* spare the king. But the picture of his reign as given by both these chroniclers appears to be overdrawn, when we read the sentiments of the minister Mahmūd Gāvān towards his royal master as expressed in his letters.²⁶

Humāyūn's son and successor, Nizām Shāh Bahmanī, a boy of eight years, also had a short reign of about two years during which the administration of the kingdom remained in the hands of a council of three consisting of the Queen-mother, assisted by two of the ablest men in the Bahmanī Court, Mahmūd Gāvān and Khvāja Jahān Turk. The Queen-mother herself was one of the few remarkable women that have appeared in the ruling dynasties of medieval India. Though she did not appear in public, she kept herself in close and constant touch with her colleagues of the council from whom and from her personal agents she received daily reports of the affairs of the kingdom. She directed that her son, the boy king, should sit every day in the hall of audience and preside over the royal *dārbār* so that he should gain full knowledge of current affairs and familiarity with the details of administration. The Council of Regency also declared a general amnesty in favour of those who had been imprisoned during the harsh rule of Humāyūn, a wise measure, the credit for which goes mainly to Mahmūd Gāvān.

While the internal condition of the kingdom was being thus strengthened by the Council of Regency, the king of Orissa, Kapi-lendra, in the belief that a State ruled by a child was likely to prove weak in war, made an alliance with the king of Telingāna and marched against the Bahmanī kingdom. He made his way to the very outskirts of the capital Bīdar, but the military leadership of Mahmūd Gāvān and Khvāja Jahān triumphed and the invaders were repulsed. Hardly had this affair ended when Mālwa made war on the Bahmanī kingdom. Mahmūd Khaljī, the Sultān of Mālwa,

marched through the northern territories of Bahmanī dominion and occupied Bīdar from which the king had been removed to Firūzābād. In this distress Mahmūd Gāvān appealed to Gujarāt for help and Mahmūd Begarha marched with an army to the Deccan. The combined efforts of the Bahmanī forces and the Gujarāt allies resulted in the enemy withdrawing towards Mālwa. Next year (1463) Mahmūd Khaljī again invaded the Bahmanī dominion, but retreated when he heard that Gujarāt was ready once again to help the Deccan kingdom.

Young Nizām Shāh Bahmani died on July 30, 1463, on the very day of his marriage, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muhammad Shāh III (1463-82). The Council of Regency, which had guided the affairs of the Bahmanī kingdom during the earlier reign, continued to function till 1466. Khvāja Jahān Turk had about this time come under suspicion of disloyalty, and in that year the Queen-mother contrived his murder in open court. Mahmūd Gāvān was now appointed *Vakīl-us-Sultanat* (Deputy of the kingdom) or the Prime Minister, and he remained in supreme authority till his murder in 1481. During the fifteen years that Mahmūd Gāvān was at the helm of administration, he successfully fought against Orissa and Vijayanagara and enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom from Orissa to Goa. His most important military achievements were the conquest of Hubli, Belgaum and Bagalkot which brought the whole of the former Bombay-Karnātak under Bahmanī sway, the complete subjugation and consolidation of the Konkan, and the occupation of the important port of Goa. This port, which was jealously guarded by the Vijayanagara kings, had for long been coveted by the Bahmanīs, and is described by Gāvān himself as "the envy of the islands and ports of India". The Sultān himself showed great military leadership in all these campaigns which earned for him the title *Lashkari*.

These new conquests enriched the resources of the kingdom and Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller who visited Bīdar about 1470, describes it as "the chief town of the whole of Muhammadan Hindustan". The nobles and people of the city and its buildings gave him an impression of great luxury, well-being and wealth. Nikitin describes the royal palace as wonderful to behold, and on an 'Id day he saw the Sultān in a dress studded with precious stones and with a large diamond in his head-dress, riding on a charger with a golden saddle. To this wealth of the city, Gāvān added the dignity of scholarship by founding a *madrasah* or school equipped with a library and housed in a glittering building with glazed tiles on its outside. But Gāvān and his administrative reforms had excited the envy and jealousy of the Deccanis which finally culminated in his

murder. Before proceeding further it is necessary to discuss fully the causes and results of this base and melancholy tragedy.

5. PARTY STRIFE IN THE BAHMANI KINGDOM.

As stated above, Hasan, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, had divided his kingdom into four provinces, which, under his successors, were known as *tarafs* and were placed under governors known as *tarafdarīs*. These provincial governors enjoyed great powers. In their respective dominions they were supreme. The *tarafdarī* system worked smoothly as long as it had behind it the momentum of a strong personality,—either of the king himself, or of an able minister like Mahmūd Gāvān. But when it became rigid and the *tarafdarīs* acquired local prestige, it became difficult to cope with its separatist tendencies.

The progress of these centrifugal forces was further accentuated by the fact that, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the ruling Muslim aristocracy had split itself into two rival groups, the Deccanis and the *pardesīs* or 'foreigners'. The Deccanis were the domiciled Muslims. No doubt they had originally come from outside the Deccan, but a stay in the Deccan extending over generations had changed their manners, ways of living and outlook on life, and had even altered their complexion. The descendants of the Muslims whom Hasan, the first Bahmanī king, entertained in his service, had also, a century later, become natives of the country, and had no longer any extra-territorial interests. Many of them had native blood in their veins, for a number of Muslim invaders originally coming into the Deccan had married women belonging to the country. This class also contained Hindu converts to Islām. Fathullāh 'Imād Shāh, the founder of the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty of Berar, and Ahmad Nizām Shāh, who established the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar, were both originally Brahmans. Naturally, therefore, the Deccanis looked upon their native land as their particular preserve, and viewed with suspicion every foreigner entering the Deccan as a future rival and a possible competitor for a position at court and a place in the king's favour.

The *pardesīs*, as their name implied, were not natives of the Deccan; year by year they came into the country from abroad in increasing numbers. The Bahmanī kings made it a matter of policy to employ these *pardesi* adventurers freely in their army, and a continuous supply of foreigners, mostly soldiers, poured into the country. A number of *pardesīs* came for trade and, like the traders of a later age, found it to their advantage to take part in the politics of the country. To those soldiers of fortune from Persia, Turkey,

Central Asia, Arabia and Afghānistān, the Deccan in those days was the land of adventure and promise, a land where valour was recognized and statesmanship rewarded.

From the very beginning of the Bahmanī kingdom, the ‘foreigners’ wielded considerable influence in the politics of the country. Bahman Shāh himself had persuaded many Afghān and Mughul *amīrs*—fresh recruits in the Tughluq service from abroad—to join his standard. This policy was continued by his successors, who, by their patronage, attracted and ensured a continuous supply of ‘foreigners’. Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī (1375-78), in particular, showed a conspicuous preference to Persians and Turks.²⁷ It was this policy of preference and exclusion that created in the Deccanis a feeling of grievance and ill-usage.

At first the ‘foreigners’ were few in number and the Deccanis did not feel their competition. But with the lapse of time the former gained in strength and formed a distinct party. This also checked the process of assimilation. When, at first, the *pardesīs* were few in number, they intermarried with the native Deccanis and were soon merged into the bigger community. But with the growth of the *pardesī* party the ‘foreigners’ became conscious of their separate entity and this hindered the process of assimilation. Thus came into being the two distinct parties—the Deccanis and *pardesīs*. As a rule the *pardesīs* were more energetic and enterprising than the native-born Deccanis. They were employed in preference to their less active and hardy rivals, and seldom failed to acquit themselves well. Many rose to the highest offices in the State to the great annoyance of the native Deccanis, who found themselves surpassed in the battle-field as well as in the council chamber. This resulted in recriminations and quarrels, and ultimately brought about the internecine struggle which followed and weakened the power of the Bahmanī kingdom, and ultimately led to its dissolution.

Moreover, the ill-feeling between the parties created by opposing interests was complicated by religious differences. A majority of the ‘foreigners’ were Shiah, while most of the Deccanis were Sunnis. Ahmad Shāh Valī showed preference for the Shiah creed, donated money to Shiah holy places, and invited Shiah saints to his court.²⁸ Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān and Sultān Qulī, two of the *pardesī* provincial governors, who in the later Bahmanī period declared their independence, were Shiah, whereas their two Deccani colleagues, Fathullāh ‘Imād-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, were Sunnis. The religious factor brought to the side of the Deccanis one class of foreigners, the Abyssinians, who were mostly Sunnis. In competition with the fair, handsome, cultured *pardesīs* from Persia, Turkey,

etc. the dark-skinned, illiterate, unprepossessing Abyssinians were at a great disadvantage and were treated with contempt by the fair *pardesīs*. The religious factor and the contempt shown towards them by the other foreigners had the effect of throwing the Abyssinians into the arms of the Deccanis. Thus, in the feuds that followed between the Deccanis and *pardesīs*, the former party consisted of the Deccanis and Abyssinians, while the latter was composed of Turks, Mughuls, Persians and Arabs.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the Deccanis realized that they were being gradually displaced from power and place by their successful rivals, the *pardesīs*, and waited for an opportunity to gain the upper hand at the Bahmani court. This came during the latter half of the reign of Ahmad Shāh Valī (1422-36) when the king suffered a decline alike in his mental and in his physical powers. By well-calculated flattery, judicious self-praise, and subtle insinuation against their rivals, the Deccanis manoeuvred themselves into the Sultān's favour. During A.D. 1430-31, the Bahmani army was defeated on three successive occasions by the Gujarātis. Khalaf Hasan, the *pardesi* minister who had been honoured with the title of *Malik-ut-Tujjār*²⁹ by Ahmad Shāh, attributed these reverses to the cowardice and treachery of the Deccanis. But the latter seems to have convinced the king of the incompetence of his *pardesi* adviser. The result was that the Deccanis were raised to power, and the administration of government was entrusted to a member of their faction, Miyān Minullāh Dakhānī, who was invested with the title of *Nizām-ul-Mulk*.³⁰

On coming to power, the Deccanis openly manifested their desire to suppress the foreigners, and in 1446 treacherously massacred a large number of them. In that year an army of Deccanis and *pardesīs* was sent against Rājā Śaṅkar Rao Shirke, a chieftain with his headquarters at Khelna in south Konkan. The Rājā of Saṅgamēśvar, who earlier had professed submission to the Bahmani Sultān, made common cause with the Shirke. These two stalwarts once again showed that the spirit of the Konkan was yet unsubdued. The invaders, lured by them into the fastnesses of the hilly tracts of this region, suffered a crushing defeat with the result that the survivors retreated to the fort of Chākan ($18^{\circ} 45' N$ and $73^{\circ} 32'E$). Taking advantage of this, the Deccanis, "who from olden times had been deadly enemies of the foreigners", misrepresented this affair to the Sultān, 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, and ascribed the defeat to the treacherous and inefficient conduct of the Konkan campaign by Khalaf Hasan and his *pardesi* colleagues. The only punishment for the foreigners, the Deccanis averred, was extirpation. The Sultān, not knowing the perfidy, concurred with the nobles that the

surviving foreigners should be put to death.³¹ The unfortunate *pardesīs* were lured out of Chākan and slaughtered, victims of their rivals' jealousy.

After the massacre of Chākan, a few foreigners, who, with great difficulty, effected their escape, represented to the king the deception which had been practised on him and gave him the correct version of what had taken place. Inquiries were set on foot which exposed the duplicity of the Deccanis and their desire for the extermination of the foreigners, with the result that they were severely punished and degraded in the court and the 'foreigners' regained their ascendancy.³²

6. MURDER OF MAHMŪD GĀVĀN: THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM.

The massacre of Chākan had set the final seal on the bitter mutual hatred between the Deccanis and the *pardesīs* that had been steadily increasing for fifty years. Matters at length had gone too far; compromise was now unthinkable, and each party wanted to destroy and uproot the other. In 1481, by a perfidy reminiscent of the massacre of Chākan, the Deccani party contrived the murder of one of the greatest statesmen in the history of India, Khvāja Mahmūd Gāvān, the *pardesī* minister of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī III (Lashkari). The false accusation and violent death of this upright minister constitute one of the tragedies of medieval India.

The Khvāja, who in the reign of Muhammad Shāh III (1463-1482) had risen to the highest office in the State, was by birth a Persian. He was honoured by the king with the title of *Malik ut-Tujjār*, and he and his followers were permitted to take precedence at court over Hasan Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri, the leader of the Deccani party and *tarafdar* of Telingāna. With the welfare of the kingdom at heart and with a strict sense of justice, Gāvān tried to maintain the balance between the Deccanis and *pardesīs* by an equal division of offices between the rival parties. But Hasan Nizām-ul-Mulk was jealous of the position of Gāvān and was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the popular minister.

Mahmūd Gāvān initiated many reforms. He subdivided each of the four main divisions into two and framed regulations for their government which curtailed the powers of the provincial governors.³³ These excellent reforms were made for administrative efficiency, but became extremely unpopular among the Deccanis and caused widespread resentment against their originator. The crafty and unscrupulous Hasan instigated his followers to put an end to

the author of these reforms. So a number of Deccanis, although they owed their high offices entirely to Gāvān, entered into a conspiracy against their patron and hatched a nefarious plot for his destruction. Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, the right-hand man of Gāvān, having been dispatched on an expedition to Telingāna, the field was left clear for the conspirators. A forged letter with the minister's seal, purporting to invite the King of Orissa to invade the kingdom, was suddenly unearthed, and Mahmūd Gāvān, thus falsely accused, was put to death by the order of Muhammad Shāh³⁴ (April 5, 1481). This great crime was the immediate cause of the dissolution of the Bahmanī kingdom. The *pardesī amīrs* refused to stay in the capital, and returned to their provinces without the formality of obtaining the king's permission. Even responsible members of the Deccani party openly expressed their disapproval of the conspirators and joined the camp of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān. Deserted by the foreigners and some of the Deccanis, the king was forced to throw himself into the arms of the conspirators. Hasan Nizām-ul-Mulk was exalted to the dignity of Malik Nāib and all the affairs of the kingdom were placed in his hands. But Muhammad Shāh could not forget that he had shed innocent blood; he tried to drown his remorse in wine and died from its effects within a year of his minister's death, crying with his last breath that Gāvān was tearing out his heart.

Muhammad's son and successor Mahmūd (1482-1518) being a minor, authority remained in the hands of Malik Nāib. On the eve of the coronation ceremony, when all the *amīrs* had gathered in the capital, the crafty Deccani formed a plot to assassinate Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān and to extirpate his followers. But the foreigners were put on their guard by some of their well-wishers in the opposite camp. For no less than twenty days Bidar was a scene of conflict between the rival factions and when peace was restored, Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān agreed to retire to Bijāpur and Malik Nāib was left at the helm of affairs in the Bahmanī capital.³⁵

The regency of Malik Nāib did not last long. He was disliked by some of his followers for his share in the murder of Mahmūd Gāvān, and his subsequent policy towards the foreigners made him intensely hated by a section of the Deccanis. The usual intrigues followed and Malik Nāib, fleeing for safety, was put to death by the Abyssinian governor of Bidar.³⁶ Thus the Deccani minister shared the fate of the great *pardesī* noble whose death he had so basely contrived.

Once again the swing of the pendulum brought the *pardesīs* to power. Once again their rivals conspired to destroy the influence

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which they still possessed, going to the length, this time, of forming a conspiracy to murder the king and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne.³⁷ They suddenly attacked the royal palace one night in October 1487, but were repulsed by the valour of the Turkī guard. The king assembled his foreign troops and next morning ordered the conspirators to be put to death. The slaughter lasted for three days and the foreigners took a terrible retribution on the Deccanis for the wrong they had suffered.

*After these events, Mahmūd Shāh took no interest in the affairs of State and the responsibility of government passed into the hands of Qāsim Barīd, a Turkī *amīr* of Sunni persuasion. The power and prestige of the Bahmanī kingdom were gone for ever, and the provincial governors refused to acknowledge the authority of Qāsim Barīd. The defection of Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, the son of Malik Nāib, started the process of disintegration. Two expeditions were sent against him, but they were of no avail. He had the full sympathy of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān of Bijāpur and Fathullāh ‘Imād-ul-Mulk of Berar. In June 1490, Ahmad assumed independence in the city of Ahmadnagar founded by and named after him.³⁸ His colleagues, ‘Imād-ul-Mulk and Yūsuf ‘Ādil, soon followed suit, with the result that by the end of that year the Bahmanī king had definitely lost his sovereignty in reality, if not in name. For the three governors, though exercising full autonomy, still kept up the pretence of nominal allegiance to the phantom Sultān, and did not exercise the sovereign's prerogatives of issuing coins and reading the *Khutba* in their own names.

*Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī continued to reign as a nominal sovereign till A.D. 1518. Even in this helpless state he rallied round him all the *amīrs* of the kingdom with a view to prosecuting the war against the "infidels" of Vijayanagara. In the year 907 A.H. (A.D. 1501), it was resolved at Bīdar that "once in each year the whole of the *amīrs* and *wazīrs* should come to the royal court, and join in a *jihād* against the idolators of Vijayanagar, and, hoisting the standards of Islām, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants".³⁹ In pursuance of this resolution, Mahmūd Shāh exhausted the resources of the decaying Bahmanī kingdom by launching expeditions against Vijayanagara, and brought repeated disasters upon it, as will be related in the chapter on Vijayanagara.

*The sentiments of unity or fellow-feeling among the nobility of the Bahmanī kingdom did not, however, extend beyond the common desire to extirpate the idolators of Vijayanagara. There were continual dissensions and struggles among themselves which were

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mostly caused by the desire to get hold of the person of the nominal sovereign. The Bijāpur forces captured Gulbarga and drove away its governor, who fled to Bīdar. Qāsim Barīd received him cordially and led an army accompanied by the Sultān against Bijāpur. But the royal army was routed and the Sultān was taken prisoner by Kamāl Khān, the *de facto* ruler of Bijāpur. The Sultān was confined to his palace and a Bijāpuri noble was appointed to keep close guard over him. But this enhancement of the power of Bijāpur brought about a combination of other nobles against that principality. There were also factions and dissensions in the Bijāpur court as a result of which Kamāl Khān was assassinated.

*These forces of disintegration were at full work when Mahmūd Shāh died in A.D. 1518. He was succeeded by four kings who were kings in name but really puppets in the hands of Amīr Barīd, son of Qāsim Barīd, who was in control of the Bahmanī capital. With the death of Kalimullāh, the last of these titular kings, some time in A.D. 1538, the Bahmanī dynasty came to an end, and the kingdom was split into five independent Sultanates, namely, the 'Ādil Shāhī of Bijāpur, the Qutb Shāhī of Golconda, the Nizām Shāhī of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhī of Bīdar, and the 'Imād Shāhī of Berar.

1. Pp. 79-80.
2. Cf. Briggs, II, 284-5, 297; *TA*, III, p. 2 and f.n. 1; *BK*, 1-2; *TMB*, 116; Cf. also *JPASB*, V. p. 463; *JASB*, LXXIII extra number, 1904. Sherwani, 48-9. *J. of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, I, 65.
3. This is the view of Sir Wolseley Haig, *CHI*, III, 372.
- 3a. *EIM*, 1931-32, 11, Bidar, 5, 147.
4. *BK*, 7.
5. *BK*, 8.
6. *BK*, 10-21; *Firishta* I, 530-531.
7. Above p. 75. For a discussion of the correctness of the name Kāpaya, and not Kānaya as stated by *Firishta*, see *Further Sources*, p. 48.
8. *Burhān*, 145-46; Briggs, II, 293; *BK*, 6-7.
9. The Bahmanī administrative system has been discussed in detail in section 3.
- 9a. Briggs, II, 305.
- 9b. *ibid.*, 319.
- 9c. *ibid.*, 319.
- 9d. For the history of fire-arms in medieval India cf. Ch. XIV, App. 1.
- 9e. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Dāūd was the uncle of Mujāhid and a son of Bahman Shāh (*CHI*, III, 384). The reason for this conclusion is advanced by Sir Wolseley Haig in his article "Some Notes on the Bahmani Dynasty" *JASB*, LXXIII, part i, extra number (1904) p. 5, where he states: "Although *Firishta* is generally an untrustworthy genealogist his account of Dāūd's parentage must be preferred to that of other authorities." We cannot share this view and prefer to follow the more reliable *Tabātabā* with whom Nizām-ud-dīn agrees to some extent. (Ed.).
10. *Firishta* I, 564-580; *BK*, 28-33, *CHI*, III, 385. (Ed.).
11. *Firishta* I, 581-586; Briggs, II, 361, *BK*, 34-36.
12. N.C. 1898, 264-265 *JASB*, 1923, 26.
13. *Firishta*, Briggs, II, 290-291.
14. N.C. 1881, III; *JASB*, 1909, 309-310; 1923, N. 23.
15. *CHI*, III, 377.
16. *ibid.*, 377.

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17. BK, 6.
18. Firishta, I, 532-33, 536; Briggs, II, 299.
19. CHI, III, 383.
20. Firishta, I, 562, 565.
21. Firishta, I, 689-90. Briggs, II, 502. For details see Sherwani: *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, 323.
22. Firishta, I, 655, 663; see also 576.
23. Firishta, I, 616.
24. For a discussion of this date see Ch. XII, f.n. 12.
25. Firishta, I, 643.
- 25a. Firishta records that after Humāyūn's rebel-brother Hasan was captured, he (Humayun) had stakes set up on both sides of the market and brought there elephants and various wild beasts; cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also kept ready. Humāyūn, sitting on a balcony, first ordered his brother to be thrown before a ferocious tiger who tore the unfortunate prince into pieces. The rest of the rebels were then put to death in various manners, some being flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. The female members of the family of some of the principal rebels were "dragged from their houses, were violated and ill-treated in the public square by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak and the tyrant Hijjaj. About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions and others, were put to death." (Briggs, II, 462-3.). Tabātabā also states that Hasan was thrown to a tiger and adds: "After that Sultān Humāyūn Shāh opened the hand of tyranny and oppression, and overthrew the foundations of mankind with the sword of injustice, and used to murder whole families at once." (BK, 87) Tabātabā adds that on the death of Humāyūn the following chronogram was composed giving the date of his death:

"Humāyūn Shāh has passed away from the world.
"God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humāyūn.
"On the date of his death the world was full of delight.
"So 'delight of the world' gives the date of his death."

(Zūq-i-jahān which means 'delight of the world' is equivalent to 586, the Hijra year of Humāyūn's death. BK, 88). It should be noted that Mahmūd Gāvān owed his high position to Humāyūn and served under his son, so that he had very good reasons for referring to that monarch with respect. (Ed.)
26. H. K. Sherwani: *Mahmud Gavan* (Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942), 94-96.
27. Firishta, I, 564; Briggs, II, 328.
28. Firishta, I, 632-33. For details see H. K. Sherwani: *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, 194.
29. This title meaning "chief of the merchants" was highly esteemed by the foreigners, many of whom first came to the Deccan in the capacity of merchants.
30. Firishta, I, 638.
31. Burhan, 83.
32. Firishta, I, 651; Briggs, II, 446.
33. See above, p. 257.
34. Firishta, 690-93; Briggs, II, 509, *Burhān*, 128-130. For a different account see Ch. XII, Section 9.
35. Firishta, I, 703-04. Briggs, II, 527.
36. *Burhān*, 137: Firishta, I, 708-09; Briggs, II, 531-32.
37. Firishta, I, 709; Briggs, II, 532-34.
38. Firishta, II, 186; Briggs, II, 536.
39. BK, 137.

* The editor alone is responsible for the paragraphs marked with an asterisk.

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CHAPTER XIV

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

THE FIVE SULTANATES OF THE DECCAN

J. N. Chaudhuri

I. General Review

It has already been shown in Volume VI, Chapter XI, how the forces of disintegration worked in the Bahmanī kingdom and ultimately brought about its dissolution. With the weakness and incapacity of the central government, the provincial governors became all-powerful within their jurisdictions, and one by one, five autonomous States came into existence, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, Berār, Golconda and Bidar. The process of disintegration started with Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, the governor of Junnar, who refused to obey the behests of Qāsim Barīd, the Prime Minister of the *roi fainéant*, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī (1482-1518), and in A.D. 1490 assumed independence in the city of Ahmadnagar founded by him. His example was followed by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the governor of Bijāpur, and Fathullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the governor of Berār, in the same year. These governors enjoyed full autonomy within their respective jurisdictions,¹ and owed only nominal allegiance to the Bahmanī Sultān at Bidar. Sultān Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telingāna, also followed their footsteps in 1518^{1a} after the death of Mahmūd Shāh. On the demise of Qāsim Barīd in 1504 his son, Amīr Barīd, controlled the administration of the decadent Bahmani kingdom. But with the flight of Kalimullāh, the last Bahmanī Sultān, from Bidar in A.D. 1528, Amīr Barīd was relieved of his phantom Sultān who, at first, went to Bijāpur and thence to Ahmadnagar, and breathed his last in 1538. Like the four autonomous States mentioned above, Amīr Barīd thus had one such unit, but he never formally assumed the title of "Shāh", and it was his son 'Alī Barīd, who succeeded him in A.D. 1542 and assumed the title of "Shāh".²

In Berār, the *khutbā* was read in the name of 'Imād-ul-Mulk for the first time in A.D. 1529.³ So far as Bijāpur was concerned, it was Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, the fourth ruler (1535-1557), who took the title of Shāh^{4a} and in regard to Golconda, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, the third ruler (1550-1580), called himself Shāh. But it is not of

much importance if any ruler out of sentiment did not assume the regal title; the fact remains that when there was no scion of the ruling dynasty on the Bahmanī throne and the Sultān ceased to function, the provincial governments mentioned above who had so long acknowledged allegiance to the Bahmanī emperor acquired the position of sovereign monarchs.

Five independent Sultānates thus came into existence; namely, the 'Adil Shāhī of Bijāpur, the Qutb Shāhī of Golconda, the Nizām Shāhī of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhī of Bidar, and the 'Imād Shāhī of Berār. Of these, Berār and Bidar were ultimately absorbed by their respective powerful neighbours, Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. Berār was annexed in A.D. 1574 and Bidar in A.D. 1619. Some modern writers are of opinion that Bidar was annexed by Bijāpur in A.D. 1609, but this view does not seem to be correct, for Bidar helped Malik 'Ambar in his struggle with the Mughuls as late as 1616.⁴ According to the *Basātin-us-Salātin* it fell in 1619,⁵ and this date is accepted by Sir Wolseley Haig.⁶ Of the rest, viz., Golconda, Bijāpur, and Ahmadnagar, the last two played very significant roles in the Deccan and shaped the history of south of the Narmada for a long time. "The heritage of the Bahmanis passed into the worthy hands of Nizam Shah and Adil Shah. Ahmadnagar and Bijapur now became centres which fully kept up the traditions of Islamic dominion and Islamic culture founded by the Sultans of Kulbarga."⁷

The respective positions of the five Sultānates were as follows: Ahmadnagar was situated to the south of Khāndesh and north of Bijāpur. Berār was on the north-eastern side of Ahmadnagar, and when the former was annexed by the latter, the north-eastern boundary of Ahmadnagar also touched the south-eastern boundary of Khāndesh. Bidar was situated on the eastern and south-eastern sides of Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar respectively and "Golconda's western boundary was mostly identical with the eastern frontier of Bidar." So Bidar was surrounded by the three powerful kingdoms of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda.

The most important feature of the Deccan politics was the keen rivalry and frequent warfare among the three big States, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda for hegemony of the Deccan. As all these three had the same object in view, the repeated trials of strength arising out of their selfish greed not only disturbed peace and tranquillity in that region but often retarded the progress of Islām there. The small States of Berār and Bidar were also not immune from rivalry and warfare, and they joined hands with one party or the other as suited their own purpose. But here

one question naturally arises: how could Berār and Bidar survive such a long time in the teeth of opposition from their powerful neighbours? This was possible mainly because of the natural jealousies and animosities of the great powers who were interested more in annihilation of their rivals than crushing the small States. Moreover, the rival States were always alert in maintaining the balance of power in the Deccan and did not like to tolerate any accession of strength of their adversary. This hindered the big powers from swallowing the weaker and smaller States and it also partly accounts for the prolonged life of the latter.

Although efforts were made from time to time to make up the differences of the States by marriage and other friendly alliances, they could not pave the way for lasting peace. The bitterness with which their wars were sometimes carried on led one or other of them even to take the assistance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara to crush its adversary, and it was only on rare occasions that we find them acting together for a common cause. It was for the first time in 1564 that the four Sultāns of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bidar agreed to unite and proceed against Vijayanagara and ultimately fought together in the battle, popularly known as the battle of Talikota, in 1565. Malik 'Ambar's adroitness again knit together Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Goleonda to stem the tide of Mughul aggression in the south.

The period which witnessed such turmoil and frequent warfare in the Deccan also produced some of the best administrators and statesmen like Malik 'Ambar and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, of whom any country may be proud. "Malik Ambar," says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "is one of the three true statesmen that Islam in southern India has produced, and in some respects he is the greatest of them. In constructive genius and the combination of high military capacity with administrative skill, he towers above Khvāja Mahmūd Gāvān and Sir Salar Jang."

Fine specimens of architecture were produced both at Golconda and Bijāpur. The architectural works at Bijāpur are "marked by a grandeur of conception and boldness in construction unequalled by any edifice in India." It was also during this period that under the patronage of some of the Sultāns of the Deccan, historical literature in Persian flourished there. Among them special mention may be made of *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qāsim Firishta, *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* of Mir Rafi-ud-dīn Shirāzī, both written during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah II, *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī* of Fuzuni Astarabadi written during the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and *Tārīkh-i-*

Muhammad Qutb Shāh completed in the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shāh.

II. THE NIZĀM-SHĀHI KINGDOM OF AHMADNAGAR

In A.D. 1490, Malik Ahmad, the governor of Junnar, assumed independence within his jurisdiction and henceforth he had only slender tie of allegiance to the central government.

Malik Ahmad "was the son of Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri, originally a Brahmin of Vijayanagara, whose real name was Timabhat, the son of Bahrlū. In his infancy, Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri was taken prisoner by the Bahmani Sultān Ahmad Shāh, converted to Islam, and given the name of Malik Ilasan. He was brought up and educated along with Prince Muhammad and from his father's name he was called Bahrlū, but the prince being unable to pronounce the word Bahrlū called him Bahri, whence he was known as Malik Hasan Bahri. Subsequently he was put in charge of the royal hawks, and the word for hawk being Bahri, it became a part of his title." He was a man of talents and, by degrees, rose to a very high position, wielding great authority in the State. He also obtained the grand appellation of Nizām-ul-Mulk.¹⁰

On the demise of his father, Malik Ahmad assumed the appellation of his father, and from this the dynasty is known as the Nizām Shāhi dynasty. He had built a city on the bank of the river Sīna, beautified it with fine buildings and gardens, named it after him Ahmadnagar, and made it the seat of his government. This city held a more convenient and strategically better position than Junnar.

One of his great achievements was the conquest of the hill fortress of Daulatābād after prolonged efforts. The acquisition of such an important fortress greatly enhanced his power and prestige. Besides this, he took possession of the hill fort of Antur and several other places belonging to Khāndesh and compelled the Rājā of Baglāna to pay him tribute. In this manner he not only extended the territory of his State but also consolidated his power. He breathed his last in A.D. 1509.

He never called himself 'Shāh' and, as has been stated before, owed nominal allegiance to the Bahmani Sultān. Firishta praises him for continence and modesty,¹¹ and he was an efficient general, good administrator and fond of duelling. It was during his time that the system of duelling was introduced in Ahmadnagar and thence it spread to other places in the Deccan.¹²

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1509-1553)

On the demise of Ahmad, his son Burhān, a boy of seven, was installed in his place. Mukammal Khān, who held a high position in the State, was appointed minister and regent, and his son entitled 'Azīz-ul-Mulk was appointed commander of the household troops. The father and son exercised uncontrolled sway over all affairs of the State. But the pride and insolence of 'Azīz-ul-Mulk became intolerable to some of the nobles and they conspired to remove both the father and son from their high position. They wanted to accomplish this by removing Burhān and raising his younger brother Rājājī in his place. But this plot was not successful and the plotters had to leave Ahmadnagar and take shelter in Berār where they excited 'Alā-ud-din 'Imād Shāh to invade Ahmadnagar. 'Alā-ud-din proceeded against the Nizām-Shāhi kingdom with a large army but sustained a severe defeat and was compelled to retreat to his capital Ellichpur, leaving everything including his horses and elephants in the hands of his enemies.¹³ Being pursued he fled to Burhānpur, and, at last, a peace was concluded between the two States with the aid of the ruler of Khāndesh, but quarrel over the possessions of Māhūr and Pāthrī, the last of which was the ancestral home of the Nizām-Shāhi rulers, brought them again into conflict. Burhān, however, conquered both these places and succeeded in retaining possession of them.^{13a}

In 1524, Ismā'il, the ruler of Bijāpur, met Burhān at Sholāpur, and an alliance was formed between them. His (Ismā'il's) sister, Bibī Mariyam, was married to Burhān. The underlying motive which prompted him to contract such an alliance was to strengthen his position for retrieving the losses he had suffered at the hands of Krishṇadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, and punishing Amīr Barīd, the arch-enemy of Bijāpur.

But unfortunately the alliance could not create the desired feeling of cordiality. Asad Khān, the minister and envoy of Ismā'il, had promised in the name of his master to give the fort of Sholāpur as marriage dowry to Burhān¹⁴ but his master professed ignorance of such authorization and refused to part with it. Burhān was eager to occupy it, and made alliances with Amīr Barid and 'Imād Shāh.¹⁴ In the following year, the confederate army marched against Sholāpur, but they were defeated near the frontier of Bijāpur, and Burhān, "overcome with the extreme heat of the day," was carried away from the battlefield in a dead faint. His losses were heavy. Thus Burhān was unable to occupy this border fortress which was always a bone of contention between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar.

In 1527 Ahmadnagar again came to arms with Bijāpur when the latter had taken up the cause of Berār for the recovery of Pāthri, but in the following year we come across a rare occasion when Bijāpur joined hands with Ahmadnagar against the combined armies of Berār, Khāndesh and Gujarāt. Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt made the position of Burhān precarious. Both the fortresses of Ahmadnagar and Daulatābād were besieged and Burhān had to purchase peace on payment of an indemnity and causing the *khutba* to be read in the name of Bahādur.^{14b}

In 1531 war commenced between Bidar and Bijāpur for the possession of Kalyāni and Qandahār. Amīr Barid had promised to surrender these places to Bijāpur but did not act up to his promise and Ismā'il marched to occupy them by force. As it was not possible to fight alone against Bijāpur, Amīr Barid sought the assistance of Burhān, who at first tried to desist Ismā'il from attacking Bidar, but when he found that his endeavour did not produce the desired effect, he joined Amīr Barid and moved against Bijāpur with twenty-five thousand cavalry and sufficient artillery. But he sustained a severe defeat in the engagement that followed and fled post haste to Ahmadnagar.

In the following year there was an attempt to arrive at an understanding between Burhān and Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh by dividing the Deccan between the two. A meeting was arranged between them and both agreed in fixing their respective zones of aggrandizement. It was settled that Ahmadnagar might take up the conquest of Berār, and Bijāpur that of Golconda.

In accordance with these terms Ismā'il, who now joined hands with Amīr Barid, proceeded to Golconda and laid siege to the fortress of Kovelaconda,¹⁵ but, all on a sudden, he fell seriously ill and expired (1534). The whole plan was upset, partly due to his sudden death and partly on account of the disputes occurring between Burhān and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I.

In 1537, Burhān adopted the Shiah faith and although there was a Sunnī rising against him, he quelled it within a short time. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, who was a Sunnī, joined the Sunnī kings of Gujarāt and Khāndesh and made a plan to parcel out Ahmadnagar among them, but Burhān frustrated their plan.

There was no end of hostility between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar. As both these kingdoms desired supremacy in the Deccan, none could cease taking up arms against the other so long as the power of the adversary was not crushed or sufficiently reduced. Under such circumstances excuses for attacks were never wanting. Encouraged by

a dissension between Ibrāhīm and his Shiah minister, Asad Khān Larī, Burhān formed an alliance with Bīdar and invaded Bijāpur. Although crowned with temporary success he had to face reverses in the long run and to conclude a treaty with Ibrāhīm on condition of restoration of Sholāpur which he had captured in the course of the war (1542).

His defeat and consequent restoration of Sholāpur to Ibrāhīm were too much for him to bear and he wanted to recover it as well as "the district of Pānj Tappā or the five heights on the Bijāpur border."¹⁶ It was with the purpose of enlisting the support of Jamshīd, the Qutb-Shāhī ruler, that he fought on his side against his brother Ibrāhīm, who, with the assistance of 'Alī Barīd, had been trying to oust Jamshīd. Before launching upon an offensive against Bijāpur, Burhān succeeded in the formation of a quadruple alliance with Jamshīd, Daryā 'Imād Shāh and Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara. It was arranged to invade the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom from different directions (1543). The forces of Vijayanagara proceeded from the south and laid siege to Rāichūr; Burhān and Daryā 'Imād Shāh besieged Sholāpur, and Jamshīd, taking advantage of the absence of 'Ādil Shāhī forces on the Telingāna border, seized Kāknī, constructed a strong fort there and occupied the whole territory up to the walls of Gulbarga. It was extremely difficult for Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to repulse the attacks of his enemies, and with the object of creating a diversion he and his ally 'Alī Barīd marched to Parenda in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, and laid siege to it. This compelled Burhān and Daryā to give up the siege of Sholāpur and proceed to Parenda; Jamshīd also moved there. The two hostile parties met at Khāspurī, about three miles from Parenda, and, in the engagement which followed there, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī Barīd were defeated and fled to Bīdar. Jamshīd Qutb Shāh chased them as far as the walls of Bīdar and then returned to his country. Finding him detached from the confederacy, 'Alī Barīd took courage and invaded Golconda. The former received information of this when the enemy was only eight miles from the capital. Leaving a garrison for the defence of Golconda he created a diversion by an invasion of Bīdar. As soon as 'Alī Barīd heard this he left Golconda and retreated towards his capital. He met Jamshīd on the way where after an indecisive battle, both of them agreed to retire to their respective dominions.¹⁷

After some time Jamshīd Qutb Shāh moved for an offensive against Bīdar, and on hearing of it, 'Alī Barīd marched to oppose him. A battle was fought at Narayankhera without any decisive result, but

the campaign ultimately terminated in favour of Jamshid who occupied the districts of Kaulas and Narayankherā.

Getting an assurance of aid from Burhān, Jamshid Qutb Shāh again marched against Bīdar. He occupied the hill fort of Medak, whereas Burhān and his ally Daryā took possession of Ausa and Udgir. ‘Alī Barīd received assistance from Bijāpur, but in spite of this reinforcement he was defeated by Jamshid Qutb Shāh who, after the victory, retired to Golconda. On the advice of Asad Khān Lari, Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh decided to come to terms with Burhān and Rāmarājā by offering some concessions to them. He ceded the district of Pānj Tappā to Ahmadnagar and sent presents to Rāmarājā. Thus Golconda was isolated.

A secret understanding was also arrived at between Burhān and Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh allowing the former free hand in his policy of aggrandizement in Bīdar, and the latter was allowed a similar advantage in Vijayanagara.¹⁸

After these, Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh sent Asad Khān against Jamshid whom this general attacked with all his might. Jamshid was compelled to give up the siege of Yādgīr in which he had been engaged and also leave the fort of Kākni which was destroyed. He was closely pursued to the gates of Golconda where in the battle which ensued Jamshid was defeated. As Asad Khān found it beyond his power to occupy this impregnable fort, he retreated and came back to Bijāpur.

Burhān attacked the fort of Qandahār belonging to Bīdar, and captured it. ‘Alī Barīd, who was unaware of the secret arrangement between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, hastened to Ibrāhīm for assistance, but the latter, finding this a suitable opportunity for the annexation of Bīdar, confined him in prison.¹⁹ After this, he moved to the south and conquered several places of the Vijayanagara kingdom. But his enhancement of power and territory was viewed with alarm by Burhān who attacked Sholāpur. Both these Sultāns now requested Jamshid for assistance. The latter left Golconda, and without joining any party, took up his position between the two contending parties. He also received messages from ‘Alī Barīd requesting him for deliverance from his present miserable condition. The position of Jamshid was then really enviable; all the three Sultāns were waiting in suspense for his favour and he exhibited his tact by sticking to his policy of neutrality to the last and, at the same time securing the release of ‘Alī Barīd from Ibrāhīm and re-instating him on the throne of Bīdar (A.D. 1548).²⁰ He thus kept Bīdar as a buffer State between him and the powerful kingdoms on the west.

The relation between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur remained as strained as before; Burhān resolved to invade Bijāpur once more and with this end in view contracted an alliance with Vijayanagara. It was arranged to besiege Kalyānī which belonged to 'Alī Barīd, now ally of Ibrāhīm. Burhān invested it and Ibrāhīm proceeded there to render assistance to his ally, but he was defeated with considerable loss of men and money. At this, the garrison lost courage and surrendered.

But Ibrāhīm was not dismayed by this discomfiture and he marched to Parenda which he occupied easily. Leaving this fortress in charge of an officer he laid waste the neighbouring districts and went back to Bijāpur. Burhān recovered it without any difficulty, as the officer in charge of it, out of fear, had fled away even when he (Burhān) was many miles away from it. On his arrival at Bijāpur the timid officer was put to death.

On hearing of the preparations of Ibrāhīm for the recovery of Kalyānī, Burhān again joined hands with Vijayanagara. It was agreed that the border fortresses, Mudgal and Rāichūr, situated between the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā, should be conquered by Vijayanagara and that Rāmarājā should assist Burhān in recovering Sholāpur. The allied army occupied Mudgal and Rāichūr and also captured Sholāpur within three months.

In 1553 Burhān and Rāmarājā again invaded Bijāpur and proceeded as far as the fort of Bijāpur which was invested, but the Nizām Shāh fell seriously ill and he was compelled to return to Ahmadnagar where he expired.

Husam Nizām Shāh I (1553-1565)

Burhān left six sons, of whom Husain succeeded to the throne of his father, and of his five brothers, 'Abdul Qādir fled to Berār, Khudābanda to Bengal and the three others, Haider, 'Alī and Mirān Muhammad Baqir to Bijāpur.

During this reign, the old quarrels between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur continued. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh's position was, for the time being, strengthened by the arrival of two influential Nizām Shāhī nobles, Khvāja Jahān Deccani and Saif-'Ain-ul-Mulk, in Bijāpur. According to their advice Ibrāhīm took up the cause of 'Alī and it was agreed that if the latter would succeed in winning the throne of Ahmadnagar, the forts of Sholāpur and Kalyāni would be given to Bijāpur. 'Alī, with a contingent of two thousand cavalry, marched towards Ahmadnagar with a view to enlisting the support of the Nizām Shāhī nobles and then to attack Husain, but he met with

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little success. Ibrāhīm had besieged the fort of Sholāpur and Husain, making an alliance with Daryā ‘Imād Shāh, marched with him to raise the siege. Both the parties met in the vicinity of this fort and drew up their forces in battle array. A sanguinary battle was fought, but Ibrāhīm, suspecting the treachery of Saif-‘Ain-ul-Mulk, fled from the battlefield and retreated to Bijāpur. Husain also then retired to his own dominion. Although ‘Ain-ul-Mulk tried to prove his guiltless conduct and sincere loyalty to ‘Adil Shāh, it was of no avail. Thus, goaded to desperation, he became a rebel (1555) and Ibrāhīm's force had to sustain several defeats in his hands till at length he was driven out of Bijāpur only with the assistance of Vijayanagara. He re-entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with permission of Husain but the latter treacherously put him to death.²¹

War however did not cease long in the Deccan and Husain made an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with the primary object of conquering Gulbarga, situated in the territory of Bijāpur. Both the Sultāns then invested it (1557). Finding it impossible to resist their attacks, Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh I sought the assistance of Rāmarājā who immediately marched with his army towards Gulbarga. At the request of Rāmarājā, the Qutb Shāh agreed to mediate for a settlement between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. Moreover, with a view to arriving at a peaceful solution among the parties Rāmarājā met the contending parties "at the junction of the Bhima and the Krishna" and "a peace was now effected to the mutual satisfaction of all parties."²²

Shortly after this conference, Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh died, and his son, ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh I, ascended the throne of Bijāpur (1557). He tried by all possible means to retain the alliance with Rāmarājā and even went to Vijayanagara to offer his condolence on the death of a son of the latter.²³

Taking advantage of the accession of a new monarch on the throne of Bijāpur, Husain Nizām Shāh, in concert with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, invaded the ‘Ādil Shāhī kingdom and ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh sought the assistance of Rāmarājā who marched with an army towards Ahmadnagar. Both ‘Alī and Rāmarājā requested Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to join them, as he was indeed obliged to do under the terms of the compact arrived at by the four parties, and Ibrāhīm joined them reluctantly. On the approach of the enemies in his territory, Husain Nizām Shāh retreated to his kingdom, and unable to resist them, retired to Paithan, on the Godavari, leaving a garrison in the fortress of Ahmadnagar for its defence. He solicited the aid of Berār,

Khāndesh and Bidar but no relief came from these quarters. Khān Jahān, brother of 'Alī Barīd, who had gone over from Bidar to Berār, dissuaded Daryā 'Imād Shāh from rendering assistance to Ahmadnagar and eventually joined 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

The confederate army penetrated as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar and after carrying on depredations in the places *en route*, laid siege to it. The garrison baffled all attempts of the besiegers to capture it and expected that the enemy would be compelled to raise the siege and retire with the advent of the monsoon. At the same time, Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh who had full sympathy for Husain, felt perturbed at the enhanced strength of Bijāpur and maintained secret communications with Husain and the besieged, whom he assisted in all possible manner. When these things leaked out, 'Alī and Rāmarājā became highly incensed and demanded explanation from Ibrāhim who decamped at night and proceeded towards Golconda.^{23a}

In the meantime, Daryā 'Imād Shāh had sent a large army under Jahāngīr Khān for the assistance of Husain. He cut off the supplies of the besiegers and reduced them to a sad plight. All these compelled the besiegers to raise the siege of Ahmadnagar and move to Ashti whence one party was despatched against Parenda²⁴ and another to Ausa.²⁵

The kingdom of Ahmadnagar had suffered a lot and there was still no end of suffering. In order to save his country from further devastation, Husain felt the imperative necessity of immediate peace with his enemies. He therefore sent envoys to Rāmarājā for peace and at last it was concluded on three conditions laid down by Rāmarājā. These were: (1) Husain should cede Kalyāni to Bijāpur, (2) he should put to death Jahāngīr Khān whose activities placed the besiegers in a miserable condition, and (3) he should also make personal submission to Rāmarājā.²⁶ All these conditions were ultimately fulfilled by Husain.

Meanwhile Husain had troubles with the Portuguese also. They had sought his permission to construct a fort at Revdanda, near Chaul. But instead of giving them permission he constructed a fortress on the site selected by them, and had also detained their ambassador. At these, the Portuguese governor of Goa invested the fort and brought further reinforcement when Husain had to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded on condition that neither Husain nor the Portuguese should build any fort either at Revdanda or at Chaul.

Although peace was concluded with Bijāpur and Vijayanagara, Husain could not forget the losses he had sustained and the humilia-

tions he had undergone. Naturally he was on the look out for revenge, and with this end in view, he met Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh in the vicinity of Kalyāni. He gave his daughter Jamal Bibi in marriage to Qutb Shāh and thus strengthened his position (1563). As soon as the ceremonies of the nuptials were over they besieged Kalyāni.

Under these circumstances Rāmarājā again came to the assistance of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and the Sultāns of Bidar and Berār, too, joined hands with them. Finding the Sultān of Golconda absent from his kingdom, Rāmarājā despatched an army under Venkatādri to invade the southern districts of Golconda. On the approach of this confederate army Husain gave up the siege of Kalyāni, and, sending his family to the fort of Ausa, he, along with Ibrāhīm, proceeded against the enemies; but untimely rain and storm created great havoc in their camps. Their tents were blown down, and the guns, stuck in the quagmire, became mostly useless, as out of seven hundred only forty could be removed for use. On the following morning the enemies attacked the camp of Ibrāhīm, who took to flight and reached Golconda with difficulty. Husain also was compelled to retreat to Ahmadnagar but, considering it unwise to stay there, he left a garrison in it for its defence and retreated to the fort of Junnar. The enemies laid siege to the fortress of Ahmadnagar and carried on depredations in the neighbouring areas. On the advice of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, they raised the siege and proceeded towards Junnar in pursuit of Husain, who, on their approach retreated into the neighbouring hills, leaving instruction to his men to cut off the supplies of the enemies and to harass them in every possible manner. His troops did these so effectively that the movement of the confederate army was checked, and, on the approach of the monsoon they gave up the pursuit in the inaccessible hills and again invested the fort of Ahmadnagar. The army of Vijayanagara had encamped on the bank of the river Sina, but heavy rains causing sudden spate in the river during the night carried away many men. In consequence of this disaster the siege was abandoned and the confederate army marched to Golconda. All attempts of Ibrāhīm to repel the attacks of Rāmarājā proved abortive; many places were ravaged and one fort after another occupied. Thus fell Pangal, Kovelaconda, and Ganpura, etc., and the Qutb Shāh, at last, had to purchase peace by the cession of Pangal and Ganpura.²⁷

Rāmarājā had fully realized the weakness of the Muslim States of the Deccan due to their mutual hatred, jealousy and disunion, and took advantage of it. The quarrels between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar and his repeated armed assistance in deciding their struggles

gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired reserving the elephants only for their use."³³

Then followed the sack and destruction of the magnificent city of Vijayanagara. Before the arrival of the victorious army there, came the robbers and jungle folk of the neighbourhood who looted whatever they could get. "The third day saw the beginning of the end....for a space of five months Vijayanagara knew no rest. The enemy (i.e. the victorious army) had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly.... Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city: teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."³⁴

The so-called battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi is one of the most decisive battles recorded in the whole history of India. It shattered the military strength of Vijayanagara and inflicted on it such irreparable damage that it was no more possible for it to regain the glorious days of the past.

The Muslims undoubtedly won a great victory over their rival and rejoiced at their grand success; Mudgal and Rāichūr were then easily recovered and added to Bijāpur. The territories of Golconda which had been wrested by Rāmarājā were also recovered.

But the union of the Sultāns for concerted action was temporary, and as soon as the dread of the great Hindu kingdom was gone, they again commenced their dynastic quarrels, and their mutual hatred and jealousy hampered their onward march.

Shortly after his return to Ahmadnagar, Husain died (1565), as a result of leading an intemperate life, and his minor son Murtazā Nizām Shāh I then ascended the throne.

Murtazā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1588)

During the minority of Murtazā, his mother, Khānzāda or Khūnza Humāyūn Sultānā, became regent and managed the affairs of the State for several years, at the end of which Murtazā took the reins of government in his own hands.

During the king's minority, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I had led a campaign against Vijayanagara which sought the aid of Ahmadnagar. In order to create a diversion with an intent to put a stop to 'Alī's

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policy of aggrandizement in the south, the Queen-mother invaded Bijāpur, upon which its Sultān was forced to recall his forces from Vijayanagara. But no great engagement took place between them and there were only several skirmishes, after which the Queen-mother retired to Ahmadnagar.

‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh could not forget this unprovoked attack by Ahmadnagar, and mismanagement in its administration by the Queen-mother afforded him an opportunity to invade it. His forces succeeded in wresting some territories from Ahmadnagar and his general Kishvar Khān constructed a fortress in the newly conquered area and named it Dhārūr. It was at this stage when things were being mismanaged by the Queen-mother and her favourite brothers, ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Tāj Khān, that Murtazā seized the reins of government in his own hands

Next he proceeded towards Dhārūr with all haste and, on reaching the precincts of the fort, laid siege to it. A lucky incident hastened its fall. Kishvar Khān, who was in charge of its defence, was killed by an arrow while conducting the defence and this was followed by the flight of the garrison and evacuation of the fort. The lost grounds were thus recovered by Murtazā who then invaded the territory of Bijāpur in conjunction with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, but this was ultimately foiled by intrigues which led to a breach between Murtazā and Ibrāhīm.

In 1569-70 Murtazā in alliance with ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh and the Zamorin unsuccessfully invaded the Portuguese possession of Chaul.^{14a}

The most important achievement of Murtazā was the annexation of Berār in A.D. 1574. This considerably enhanced the territory, power and prestige of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, and although a pretender with the aid of Mirān Muhammad Shāh, the ruler of Khāndesh, tried to revive the kingdom, it proved abortive. Not only the pretender and the forces of Khāndesh were driven back, but the kingdom of Khāndesh, even to the very gates of Burhānpur, the capital city, was ravaged and Mirān Muhammad had to take refuge in the fortress of Asirgarh and eventually purchase peace on payment of a large sum of money to the Nizām Shāh.

During this reign, Ahmadnagar reached its greatest territorial extent. On the west, it was bounded by the Arabian sea, from Bassein to Bankot, on the north it touched the southern frontier of Khāndesh and "on the north-east it included Berār, which was bounded on the north by the river Tapti and the eastern and

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southern boundaries of which were enclosed by the Wain Gangā, Warda, and Pain Gangā rivers; the line, subsequently coming through the Godavari and the boundary of Bidar, moved first in the south-western direction, and passing Ausa and Sholāpur, it took a north-western course, serving as the northern boundary of Bijāpur till it reached Bankot.”³⁵

On the death of ‘Alī in 1580, his nephew Ibrāhim ‘Adil Shāh II ascended the throne of Bijāpur and taking advantage of the minority of the Sultān, Murtazā invaded Bijāpur but was defeated. Within a few years of the accession of Ibrāhim the marriage of his sister Khadija was celebrated with Murtazā’s son, Mirān Husain, but the marriage alliance failed to establish peace between Ahmad-nagar and Bijāpur.

Of all the actions of Murtazā his cruel and inhuman treatment of his faithful minister Chingīz Khān, whom he put to death by administering poison on the false accusation that he had been trying to make himself independent in Berār, deserves the strongest condemnation. The insinuation came from the king’s favourite, Sāhib Khān, in order to feed fat his grudge on the minister, and it was too late when the Sultān discovered the truth.³⁶ This reminds one of the treacherous plot against Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous minister of the Bahmanī kingdom.

The last years of Murtazā’s life were embittered by his loss of mental equilibrium which specially manifested itself in the unjustified suspicion of his son Mirān Husain whom he suspected of dethroning him. To get rid of the Prince he set fire to his bed clothes, locking the door of the room from outside, while he (the Prince) was asleep. The latter was startled by the smoke in the room, and was rescued, and ultimately carried in secret to the fortress of Daulatābād with the help of his well-wishers. He soon took vengeance on his father and caused his death by suffocating him in a close heated bath (1588).³⁷

Firishta, the historian, had become a close confidant of Murtazā Nizām Shāh during his last days, and escaped untimely death at the hands of Husain Nizām Shāh, being the latter’s class mate.

Husain Nizām Shāh II (1588-1589)

On the death of his father, Mirān Husain ascended the throne with the title of Husain Nizām Shāh II. He was a cruel and worthless Sultān who wasted his time in wine and pleasures. His cruelties and excesses were so intolerable that he was dethroned, im-

prisoned, and, at last, put to death. His reign lasted a little more than ten months.

Ismā'il Nizām Shāh II (1589-1591)

Ismā'il, a cousin of Husain II, who was now raised to the throne, was the younger son of Burhān-ud-dīn, brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. During the reign of the latter, Burhān had made a fruitless attempt to seize the throne, but having been defeated, took shelter in Bijāpur. He made another effort but, this time, too, met with a similar fate, and he then went to the Mughul Emperor Akbar whose service he entered. But his two sons, Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il, were left behind in the fortress of Lohargarh where he had once been confined.

During the reign of Ismā'il the real power was in the hands of Jamāl Khān, the leader of the Deccani party. He belonged to the Mahdavī sect and persecuted all those who did not belong to it. During the tumult following the murder of Husain he had ruthlessly put to death many foreigners and now he seized the properties of those who had escaped massacre, compelling them (including the historian Firishta) to leave Ahmadnagar. But these persecutions had their natural reactions and dark clouds enveloped the political horizon of Ahmadnagar. The discontented nobles headed a revolt to drive away Jamāl, and at the same time, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, who bore hatred and anger against this leader for his religious persecutions and who was anxious to bring back his widowed sister Khadija to Bijāpur, sent Dilāvar Khān with a large force to invade Ahmadnagar. With great intrepidity Jamāl met the two enemies successively. At first he defeated his internal enemies and forced them to fly to Burhānpur. Then he proceeded against Dilāvar Khān and met him at Ashti. The two armies remained face to face for fifteen days without any action and, at length, on the request of Jamāl Khān, peace was concluded between them on two conditions, viz. (1) Khadija should be sent back to Bijāpur, and (2) Ahmadnagar should pay a war indemnity (1589).^{37a}

Ismā'il's father, Burhān, who had been eager to gain the throne occupied by his son, took permission of Akbar to proceed to the Deccan. The Mughul Emperor proposed to render military assistance to him, but Burhān politely and tactfully refused to accept it, as that would have made him an object of hatred in the eyes of his country-men and would have brought him under obligation to the Mughuls. He went to the Deccan, and with the assistance of some of the Nizām Shāhī nobles, made an attack on Berār but was de-

feated. He was forced to take shelter in Khāndesh where he succeeded in securing the aid of its ruler Rājā Alī Khān. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II also promised him assistance. Ahmadnagar was then invaded from two sides—on the north, by Burhān and Rājā 'Alī Khān, and on the south, by the army of Bijāpur under Dilāvar Khān. Jamāl Khān first proceeded to the south against Dilāvar Khān whom he defeated at Dhārāseo. Next he proceeded towards the north and met Rājā 'Alī Khān and Burhān at Rohankhed but he was slain in the battle. His death was followed by a flight of his army along with Ismā'il who was captured and then confined by his father (1591).

Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1591-1595)

Burhān was an aged man when he ascended the throne. He annulled the orders of Jamāl Khān regarding the Mahdavī sect and passed order for the death of its followers with the result that they left the kingdom. The Shahī religion was re-established and the foreigners, who had been expelled by Jamāl Khān, were recalled.³⁸

This reign witnessed the renewal of the old conflict between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. The defeat of Dilāvar Khān, the Bijāpur general, at Dhārāseo, was a signal for his downfall. He had to leave Bijāpur and go to Ahmadnagar where he was cordially received by Burhān and appointed in his service. Ibrāhīm requested Burhān to send Dilāvar back to Bijāpur along with the three hundred elephants which had fallen into the hands of Jamāl Khān at the battle of Dhārāseo. At the instigation of Dilāvar, Burhān not only refused compliance but invaded Bijāpur (1592). Finding no opposition he continued to advance in the territories of Bijāpur and strengthened his position by repairing the fortress of Mangalvedha, on the bank of the Bhimā. Instead of encountering the enemy in an open field, Ibrāhīm despatched a strong detachment of Marāthā cavalry to cut off the supplies of the enemies and harass them in every possible manner. They made the position of Burhān so intolerable that he was obliged to march back to his own country to replenish his provisions. This being done, he proceeded towards Sholāpur, but the forces of Bijāpur inflicted a severe defeat on him. This so adversely affected his position that he was compelled to conclude peace with Bijāpur and demolish the fortress of Mangalvedha, repaired by him.

In the same year (1592) Burhān made an attack on the Portuguese fortress of Chaul. Although he had some advantages at the initial stage, he suffered heavily when reinforcements arrived for

the assistance of the garrison. With the increased strength, the Portuguese not only defended Chaul but, taking the offensive, reduced the fort which Burhān had constructed in the neighbourhood, killing more than twelve thousand Nizām Shāhī soldiers. Farhād Khān, the commander of Ahmadnagar, was taken prisoner.

After this discomfiture, Burhān made preparations to attack the Portuguese once more, but this did not ultimately materialize, as he marched to the aid of Ismā'il who had rebelled against his brother Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. But on reaching Parenda, he learnt that Ismā'il had already been captured and put to death by his brother, and retired to Ahmadnagar, where he fell seriously ill. Ibrāhīm II, who was highly annoyed with Burhān for supporting Ismā'il, despatched an army against him and defeated and killed his commander Uzbak Khān. This news gave Burhān a rude shock in his weak health which further deteriorated, confining him to bed.

Burhān nominated his elder son Ibrāhīm as his successor, but Ikhlās Khān, an influential Nizām Shāhī noble, taking up the cause of Ismā'il, the younger son, proceeded against the Sultān who, in spite of his illness, personally took the field and defeated the rebels. The prince then fled to Parenda. But the exertion of the campaign was too much for the Sultān who expired on the day following his return to the capital (1595).³⁹

Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh (1595)

Ibrāhīm then ascended the throne under the title of Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh, but his reign lasted a few months only. Miyān Manjhū became prime minister, and the Sultān as well as the minister granted pardon to Ikhlās Khān for his past conduct. But the latter, forgetting the gratitude he owed to the minister, arrayed a strong opposition against him, although he as well as Miyān Manjhū belonged to the same Deccani party. The motive behind such action of Ikhlās Khān was only self-aggrandizement at the expense of the prime minister. When the affairs in the realm were thus heading towards a crisis, the envoy of Bijāpur was insulted, and Ikhlās Khān prevailed on the young Sultān, who was given to dissipation, to declare war against Bijāpur. Miyān Manjhū's efforts to avoid it was of no avail, and, to make matters worse, Ibrāhīm was slain in the sanguinary battle which ensued between these two kingdoms.

Chaos and Confusion

Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh's death was followed by the flight of his army, and the victors returned to Bijāpur laden with rich booty.

This was a signal for serious confusion and disorder in the Ahmadnagar kingdom which continued unabated for most of the time till its annexation by the Mughuls. During this period, the leading nobles looked to their own interests alone instead of devising any common programme for the welfare of the realm. Parties of different interests had existed even during its infancy, and their selfish greed sapped its vitality, but with the incapacity and weakness of the Sultāns they became more powerful and brought about its final annihilation. Within a short time following the death of Ibrāhīm, four parties organized by different Nizām Shāhī nobles arose to contest the throne. Chānd Sultān, the aunt of the late Sultān and widow of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I, championed the cause of Ibrāhīm's infant son, Bahādur, whom she proclaimed as the rightful Sultān; she became regent and appealed to the subjects for peace and amity, but in vain. The leader of the second party was Ikhlās Khān who declared a child called Motī, procured by him, as the legal sovereign. The third party was organized by Ābhang Khān,^{39a} an Abyssinian noble, who was the supporter of Shāh 'Alī, the son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I; and the fourth party was led by Miyān Manjhū, who declared his nominee, Ahmad, as the real successor to the Nizām Shāhī throne, and proclaiming him Sultān, captured and imprisoned Bahādur. But it was soon found out that Ahmad was an impostor, and due to keen opposition of Ikhlās Khān the position of Miyān Manjhū became extremely critical. The latter took shelter within the walls of Ahmadnagar and applied to Prince Murād, the son of Akbar, then governor of Gujarāt, for assistance. Akbar had already decided to attack Ahmadnagar and given instruction to Murād to that effect. The invitation of Miyān Manjhū afforded a suitable opportunity to carry out his design and the Prince, accompanied by Rājā 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, and Khān Khānān Abdur Rahīm moved towards Ahmadnagar (1595).

In the meantime Miyān Manjhū had defeated his rival Ikhlās Khān and repented of having called in Mughul assistance. He joined Chānd Sultān in her endeavour to save the kingdom from Mughul aggression and implored the assistance of Bijāpur and Golconda. As regent, Chānd Sultān undertook to manage all affairs of the kingdom and offered a stiff resistance to Murād who had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar. At this juncture she appealed to Ābhang, Khān, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II for help. All of them responded to her request and 'Adil Shāh despatched twenty-five thousand cavalry under the command of Suhail Khān, an eunuch, and the Qutb Shāh five to six thousand cavalry.⁴⁰

Ikhlās Khān and Miyān Manjhū along with the army of Bijāpur and Golconda advanced to the assistance of Chānd Sultān.

Prince Murād became anxious when he heard of these heavy reinforcements coming to the relief of Ahmadnagar. The progress of the siege was undoubtedly slow owing to the jealousy and differences of opinion between him and the Khān Khānān, and without wasting any more time he laid mines. Although a breach was made in the wall of the fort, it was not possible for the besiegers to enter into it due to the gallant resistance of the besieged led by the valiant Chānd Sultān. During the night the breach was repaired under her superintendence, and thus the capture of the fort remained as difficult as before. Adding to their hardships, the Mughuls were experiencing shortage of provisions. On the other hand, Chānd Sultān, too, was badly experiencing want of provisions and was in grave anxiety about the defence of the fort. Both sides were thus on the look out for an opportunity to terminate the war, and, at last, a treaty was concluded between them on conditions of recognition of the suzerainty of the Mughuls and cession of Berār by Ahmadnagar (March, 1596).⁴¹

On the return of the Mughuls, Bahādur was proclaimed Sultān and Muhammad Khān appointed prime minister. Miyān Manjhū expected that Ahmad would have preference to other rivals, but when this was not possible in a peaceful manner, he wanted to accomplish it by a trial of strength. Chānd Sultān again appealed for aid to Ibrāhim II who asked Miyān Manjhū to repair to Bijāpur with Ahmad, and on their arrival there, both of them were taken into the service of Bijāpur.

The difficulties of Chānd Sultān did not end with their exit from Ahmadnagar, and more troubles were in store for her. The high-handedness of Muhammad Khān was too much for her and the nobles to bear. Once more she appealed to Ibrāhim II to help her to tide over the difficulties. The latter again despatched an army under Suhail Khān to Ahmadnagar with instruction to render all possible assistance to her. Muhammad Khān opposed Suhail Khān who besieged him in the fort of Ahmadnagar for four months. Thus placed in a critical position, Muhammad appealed for aid to the Mughuls, but the garrison, highly dissatisfied at this, seized him and made him over to Chānd Sultān who appointed Abhang Khān in his place. Thus she got rid of her internal foe but there was re-crudescence of trouble with the Mughuls.

Her relations with them were far from cordial. They had occupied some territories of Ahmadnagar including Pāthri not ceded to

them by the last treaty, whereas Gawilgarh and Narnāla, the two fortresses of Berār, were still in possession of the officers of Ahmadnagar. Thus, when causes for renewal of a war already existed, the appeal of Muhammad Khān for aid to the Mughuls furnished the latter another important ground for an offensive.

Realising the gravity of the situation, Chānd Sultān appealed to Bijāpur and Golconda for assistance, which both of them gave. A combined army of about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Berār, and in the vicinity of Sonpet, on the Godavari, a severe battle took place between them and the Mughuls for two days in which the latter came out victorious (1597).^{41a} But, in spite of this, their progress was much hampered due to serious differences of opinion between Prince Murād and the Khān Khānān, and Akbar had to recall the latter, deputing Abu-'l-Fazl instead.

There was lack of unity in the Nizām Shāhī camp, too, and quarrels had been going on between Chānd Sultān and Ābhang Khān. The latter besieged her in the fort of Ahmadnagar, and taking advantage of the absence of the Khān Khānān, attacked and besieged the Mughul officer in charge of the fortress of Bir.

Abu-'l-Fazl could not improve the position of the Mughuls and on 12 May, 1599, Prince Murād died of intemperance. Under these circumstances Prince Dāniyāl, the youngest son of Akbar, and the Khān Khānān were sent to the Deccan, and with a view to conducting the campaigns more vigorously the emperor himself proceeded to the south, making his headquarters at Burhānpur. An army was despatched to besiege Asir, and Prince Dāniyāl and the Khān Khānān were directed to proceed against Ahmadnagar.

Ābhang Khān raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and marched to oppose the Mughuls, but "finding himself out-manoeuvred and unable to withstand the Mughul's forces" he went back to Ahmadnagar for amicable settlement of his differences with Chānd Sultān; but when this was not possible, he retired to Junnar. The Mughuls reached Ahmadnagar without opposition and invested it.

At this critical juncture, Chānd Sultān, seeking the advice of Jīta Khān, an eunuch and officer of rank, gave out that her past experience convinced her of the danger of placing reliance on the Nizām Shāhī officers and, in her opinion, it would be proper to cede the fort to the Mughuls on condition of safe passage of the garrison and the young Sultān to Junnar. At this Jīta Khān at once came out shouting that she was in league with the Mughuls for surrender of the fort. A mob headed by Jīta Khān then rush-

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ed into her apartment and put her to death (July, 1600). Her murder sealed the fate of the kingdom, and in the following month, the Mughuls stormed and occupied the fort.^{41b}

Thus, Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughul Empire and the young Sultān, Bahādur Nizām Shāh, sent as a State prisoner to the fortress of Gwālior where he was confined for the rest of his life. Among the booty which the Mughuls received was a valuable library.⁴²

Malik 'Ambar

But although the capital city and its adjoining places were occupied by the Mughuls and made a separate sūba of the empire, an extensive part of the kingdom remained in possession of the influential Nizām Shāhī nobles like Malik 'Ambar and Raju Deccani. They acted independently of each other and owed no allegiance to any king. It was to the credit of the former that he revived the fallen kingdom and imparted to it a fresh lease of life.

Malik 'Ambar was born in an obscure Abyssinian family in 1549. He was originally a slave of Khvāja Bāghdādī who had purchased him in Bāghdād. He was then sold at Ahmadnagar to Chingīz Khān, the minister of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. Chingīz Khān had one thousand slaves and 'Ambar was one of them. The sudden death of his master threw 'Ambar in a helpless condition and for more than two decades he struggled hard, serving sometimes as an ordinary soldier in Ahmadnagar and sometimes in Bijāpur. But these could not satisfy an ambitious man like him. When Abhang Khān was opposing Bahādur, he joined his service and was soon promoted to the rank of a commander of one hundred and fifty horsemen in reward for his good services.

After some time he started his career as an independent chieftain, and disorder and confusion then prevailing in the country afforded him a suitable opportunity for his adventurous activities. At the time when the Mughuls were busy in the siege of Ahmadnagar, he, by his repeated sallies on the unruly men of the borders, made their lives so miserable that they were compelled to come under his leadership. These soon swelled the number of his followers to two thousand and five hundred, and encouraged by such successes, he continued from one daring act to another till he made a sudden sally on Bidar whose army he defeated. This victory enhanced his resources in men and money. After this, he became bold enough to make surprise attacks on the Mughuls in Ahmadnagar and plunder them. His followers continuously increased

and many Nizām Shāhī nobles joined him, adding to his strength and prestige.⁴³ Thus he became the most powerful factor in the Nizām Shāhī politics and "brought under his possession the Nizām Shāhī country from the Telingana borders as far north as within one kros of Bir and four of Ahmadnagar and from twenty kros west of Daulatābād to within the same distance of the port of Chaul."⁴⁴

Having thus made his position strong he took up the cause of the fallen Nizām Shāhī dynasty which he wanted to reinstate at all costs. He was wise enough not to aspire after kingly position, and although there were obstacles in his way he surmounted them with his iron will. Bahādur and other members of the family were State prisoners at Gwālior and to bring them back was out of the question. He was, however, successful in finding out a scion of the Nizām Shāhī family in 'Ali, the son of Shāh 'Ali, then residing in Bijāpur. It has already been stated how two fruitless attempts were made, one by Ibrāhim 'Adil Shāh I and later on, by Āhang Khān, to place Shāh 'Ali on the throne of Ahmadnagar. He was now of advanced age and Malik 'Ambar, inviting his son, placed him on the throne with the title of Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk (1600).

Murtazā Nizām Shāh's coronation took place at Parenda which was fixed "as the temporary capital of the kingdom, and Malik 'Ambar became Prime Minister and Vakil-us-Sultānat (Regent of the Kingdom) and gave his daughter in marriage to the king."⁴⁵

Murtazā II who ruled from A.D. 1600 to 1630 was Sultān only in name and the whole governmental machinery was run by Malik 'Ambar. The latter had to solve various problems of the revived kingdom including its protection from internal enemies and Mughul aggression. In place of chaos and confusion he soon established law and order and then diverted his attention to the self-seeking nobles, the most formidable of whom was Raju Deccani, who had brought under his possession a great part of the fallen Nizām Shāhī kingdom and who, in order to fulfil his selfish design, was dragging the country to a crisis. Taking advantage of this rivalry the Mughul general, Khān Khānān, started an offensive campaign against 'Ambar, and this was directed against his territory on the Telingāna border. In one of the battles there, viz., at Nander, he was wounded (1602), and the war finally terminated in a treaty "marking out their respective boundaries."⁴⁶

After this, 'Ambar compelled the conspirators like Farhad Khān and Manjhan Khān to leave the kingdom and take shelter in Bijāpur.

In 1607, 'Ambar transferred the capital to Junnar on account of its strategic importance and for efficient conduct of campaigns against Raju, as it was situated at a comparatively less distance from Daulatābād, the headquarters of the latter, than Parenda.⁴⁷ Circumstances now favoured the Abyssinian chief to subdue his rival. The oppression of Raju created a feeling of deep discontent among his subjects, including the soldiery, and the latter, deserting the cause of their master, joined 'Ambar and complained to Murtazā Nizām Shāh II about Raju's oppression, requesting him to deliver them from their awful situation. Finding this a good opportunity, the Abyssinian chief marched against him with a large army. Although Raju tried hard, he could not defend for long due to lack of support from his followers, and the fort of Daulatābād was captured by the Nizām Shāhī army. He became a prisoner, and his territory was incorporated in the Ahmadnagar kingdom.⁴⁸ He remained in prison for three to four years, but when there was a conspiracy to create a rebellion in his favour 'Ambar put him to death.⁴⁹

Thus, it was due to the untiring zeal and efforts of the Prime Minister that the fallen kingdom was revived and its borders extended. Party bickerings were removed and the structure of the government was built on a strong foundation. His occasional differences with the Sultān were also always made up.

'Ambar then turned his attention towards the Mughuls who, since the accession of Jahāngir, were engrossed in their affairs in the north-west due to the revolt of Prince Khusrav and the siege of Qandahār by Shāh 'Abbās, the King of Persia. Commencing his offensive against them, 'Ambar recovered many of the lost territories of Ahmadnagar. The Khān Khānān was thus placed in a miserable condition and recalled to Agra by the Emperor (1608) who, with a view to improving the situation, gave him a reinforcement of twelve thousand cavalry.

'Ambar's anxieties increased when he heard of this reinforcement, and he took steps to form an alliance with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. His requests to 'Adil Shāh "were three-fold; first, to render him military assistance against the Mughuls, so that he might fight them successfully." He said, "It is my design to fight the Mughul troops so long as life remains in this body. It may be that through your Majesty's daily increasing fortune I shall expel the Mughuls from the Deccan."⁵⁰ The second request was "to hand over to him, for the safety of his family and the collection of rations, the fort of Qandahār which the 'Adil Shāh had wrested from the Nizām

Shāhī kingdom some time back, and the third request was to bring the two states together into a close bond of union by matrimony."⁵¹

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II was also desirous of forming an alliance with Ahmadnagar in order to check Mughul aggression in the south and it had been one of the principal reasons for his assistance to 'Ambar in placing a scion of the old Nizām Shāhī family on the throne. At the request of 'Ambar, ten thousand select cavalry were despatched to Ahmadnagar, the fort of Qandahār was returned, and a matrimonial alliance formed between the two kingdoms by the marriage of 'Ambar's son Fath Khān with the daughter of Yāqūt Khān, a nobleman of Bijāpur, who was in high favour with the Sultān. Subsequently, another auxiliary force of three to four thousand cavalry was also despatched from Bijāpur to Ahmadnagar.⁵²

'Ambar had already besieged Antur and wrested it from the Mughuls. Even with his reinforcement the Khān Khānān could not improve the situation due to discord and disunion in his camp. So, in 1609, Jahāngīr sent Prince Parvīz to the Deccan as Governor of Berār and Khāndesh, and with supreme command to lead the campaigns, and another general named Khān Jahān Lodi was also ordered to proceed there. But in spite of these, the Mughul position, instead of improving, deteriorated further. The Khān Khānān's plan of surprise attack on 'Ambar ended in disaster. He was continuously harassed by the light Marāthā cavalry of Ahmadnagar, well-trained in guerilla tactics, and his condition became so precarious that he had no other alternative but to patch up a disgraceful treaty with 'Ambar and retire to Burhānpur (1610).⁵³

After conquering the surrounding places the Nizām Shāhī army had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar which, too, fell. These exploits enhanced the power, prestige and extent of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Its capital was then transferred from Junnar to Daulatābād, a place of greater strategic importance.

The heavy losses which the Mughuls had suffered were too much for them to bear and the Khān Khānān was recalled and Khān Jahān was promoted to take up the command in his place, but as petty wranglings among the officers continued unabated in the Mughul camp, nothing could be done to improve matters.

At last, a better plan was devised to invade Ahmadnagar from two sides—one by 'Abdullah Khān, who was appointed Governor of Gujarāt with instruction to lead the expedition by way of Nasik and Trimbak, and the other under the joint command of Rājā Mān Singh

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and Khān Jahān Lodī to proceed by way of Berār. Eager to gain the full credit of the victory, 'Abdullah Khān moved on without keeping in touch with the other party and entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Fully alive to the situation, 'Ambar followed his guerrilla tactics as before and his Marāthā bands harassed 'Abdullah Khān's army in all possible ways. Although 'Abdullah penetrated almost as far as Daulatābād, he found his position so precarious that he was compelled to retire, pursued and continually harassed by the Nizām Shāhī forces up to the border of Baglan. With heavy losses he returned to Gujarāt, and when Rājā Mān Singh and Khān Jahān heard of his retreat, they, too, retired (1612).⁵⁴

After this victory, the capital of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was transferred to Khirki, about ten miles off from Daulatābād. Situated in a hilly region, it had natural barriers for protection against invasions from outside. It had originally been a small village but 'Ambar peopled and beautified it with fine buildings. "The grandeur and beauty of this new capital found encomium even in the pages of Mughal history; the *Maasir-i-Rahimi* says that it was not only the best city in the Deccan but the like of it was not to be found even in Hindusthan."⁵⁵

'Abdullah Khān was severely reprimanded by the Emperor for his indiscreet actions and the Khān Khānān was again directed to proceed to the Deccan with his sons including Shāh Navāz Khān.

Taking advantage of desertions of some of the Nizām Shāhī nobles, Shāh Navāz Khān moved direct towards Khirki. In the meantime, Malik 'Ambar had made alliances with Bijāpur, Golconda, and Bidar, all of whom responded to his call and despatched necessary quotas of troops to his aid. 'Ambar remained at Khirki with forty thousand cavalry and another force was sent to harass the Mughuls and check their advance. But the Nizām Shāhis proved powerless against the superior strength of Shāh Navāz Khān who defeated them and marched towards Khirki. 'Ambar came out and met the Mughuls at Rosalgarh, near Khirki. Here, in the sanguinary battle which ensued, he was defeated, sustaining heavy losses in men and materials (1616).

The Mughuls then entered the Nizām Shāhī capital and carried on destruction in it, but they did not pursue the defeated.⁵⁶ The effect of the victory was only temporary and could not much alter the situation. Despite the presence of Prince Parviz in the Deccan for seven years, there was no tangible progress in the Mughul campaigns and he was therefore transferred to Allahābād while Prince Khurram was ordered to proceed to the Deccan. Before his depar-

ture he was conferred with the lofty title of "Shāh" (1616)⁵⁶ and the emperor himself proceeded to Māndū for better guidance of the campaigns.

The Prince, at first, opened diplomatic negotiations with Bijāpur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar and offered them proposals of peace on two conditions, viz., restitution of the conquered territories and payment of tribute. Weary of the struggle and afraid of the extensive preparation of the Mughuls, both Bijāpur and Golconda accepted these terms and 'Ambar, fearing the enmity of these combined powers, found no alternative but to come to terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar with its contiguous places and the *Parganās* of Bālāghāt previously wrested from the Mughuls.⁵⁷

The Abyssinian hero took this step only to ward off a crisis and wait for an opportunity to regain the lost territories.

An undue parade of the Prince's success was made when he met his father at Māndū and among the marks of distinction, he received the lofty title of "Shāh Jahān" and the special privilege of a seat near his father in darbar (October, 1617).

'Ambar's opportunities came after two years when Jahāngīr was in Kāshmīr, Shāh Jahān busy in the siege of Kāngra and the Mughūl officers in the Deccan engaged in petty bickerings and rivalries. He made alliances with Bijāpur and Golconda, and with about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Ahmadnagar, recovering the lost places, and besieging it. An army was left to carry on the siege, while he marched triumphantly towards Berār. He besieged Burhānpur, crossed the Narmada and plundered the environs of Māndū.

Shāh Jahān was once more directed to proceed to the Deccan. 'Ambar, who did not like to take the risk of an open engagement with Shāh Jahān, gave up the siege and retreated. But the Prince gave the Deccanis a hot chase and pursued them to the very gates of Khirki, and occupied the city after 'Ambar had removed Murtazā II with his family to Daulatābād. The Mughuls destroyed the fine structure of Khirki and 'Ambar, realizing the insecurity of his position, opened negotiations for peace. Shāh Jahān had also to contend with many difficulties. So, he decided to accept the offer of peace. Besides promising to restore the territories occupied from the Mughuls in the course of the last two years, 'Ambar agreed to surrender "fourteen Kros of the adjoining country" to them, and moreover, the three kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda consented to pay fifty lakhs of rupees as tribute.⁵⁸

But who could foretell then that Prince Shāh Jahān would step into the Deccan as a fugitive and suppliant for aid to the Abyssinian antagonist about two years later to save himself from the wrath of his father? Malik 'Ambar who was then not on good terms with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II and who was anxious to gain Mughul assistance in order to defeat his enemy, gave an evasive reply to the Prince.

But what are the factors which contributed in creating a rift between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur? First, the fort of Sholāpur was a frequent bone of contention between them. Secondly, taking advantage of disorder and confusion in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar in 1600, Ibrāhīm II had annexed a portion of it; and not to speak of giving it back, he cherished further designs of aggrandizement. The Bijāpur Sultān came to realize that the revived kingdom of Ahmadnagar under the leadership of an able general and statesman like 'Ambar was really a menace to the safety of Bijāpur. The Bijāpur nobles also viewed with extreme jealousy the ascendancy of an Abyssinian slave to such a height of power and strength in the neighbouring kingdom and eagerly looked forward to bring about his downfall. Moreover, the Nizām-Shāhī deserters like Farhād Khān and others who were in Bijāpur service, widened the gulf between these two kingdoms. Fuzuni, the author of *Futūhāt-i-'Adil-Shāhī*, wrote as a Bijāpuri partisan, and it is difficult to believe him when he ascribed the cause of rupture of 'Adil Shāh with the Abyssinian leader to "bad behaviour and inordinate pride and insolence"⁵⁴ of the latter. But it may be mentioned here that 'Ambar was eager to regain the territories which had been forcibly occupied by Ibrāhīm II.

When feelings in Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur were thus strained, both tried hard to join Mughul alliance with a view to inflicting a stunning blow to the other. But the Mughuls decided in favour of Bijāpur, and 'Ambar was left alone against a formidable confederacy. He realized the gravity of the situation and removed Murtazā II to the fortress of Daulatābād for safety. He then went towards Golconda and realized from the latter the fixed subsidy (*zar-i-mukarrari*) which had been in arrears for two years and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with it.⁵⁵

Thus strengthening his position, he marched against Bidar which had been under the domination of Bijāpur since 1619. By a surprise attack he defeated the Bijāpur army and pillaged the city. His next move was against Bijāpur itself and Ibrāhīm II, unable to oppose him in an open fight, withdrew into the walled city which was besieged by the Nizām Shāhī army. Driven to such an extremity

'Adil Shāh recalled his contingents under Mulla Muhammad Lari from Burhānpur where they had been sent to join the Mughul service in fulfilment of the terms of his alliance with them. As a result of his appeal for Mughul assistance, the Mughul governors of Ahmadnagar and Bir, with many other officers of distinction, marched in conjunction with Mulla Muhammad Lari for the relief of Ibrāhim II. Alarmed at this heavy reinforcement, 'Ambar repeatedly appealed to the Mughul officers not to support Bijāpur, and to allow Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur to settle their own differences, but in vain. They forced him to raise the siege of Bijāpur and retreat to his own country, but closely pursued by them. Thus, goaded to the last extremity, he fell back "on Bhatvadi, about ten miles south-east by east of the fort of Ahmadnagar, and on the western bank of the Keli Nadi, a feeder of the Sina."⁶⁰ Here he exhibited uncommon bravery and resourcefulness in dealing with this desperate situation. By cutting the embankment of the Bhatvadi lake he filled the adjoining areas with mud and water and rendered it impossible for his enemies to approach the place. A heavy rain worsened the situation. To make their position still more miserable, 'Ambar carried on surprise night attacks, plundering the enemy-camps and making it impossible for them to receive any supply of provisions. Scarcity of food made the sufferings of the army so distressing that many deserted their camp. The rival parties had encamped at a distance of two or three *kros* only, and, at length, both of them arranged their forces for an open engagement. 'Ambar's talents as a general never shone forth more brilliantly than in this battle. The Mughuls and their Bijāpur allies sustained a severe defeat and their losses, too, were heavy (1624).⁶¹ Many Mughul and Bijāpur commanders fell into the hands of their enemies and Mulla Muhammad Lari was slain.

The battle of Bhatvadi was indeed one of the most decisive battles in the history of the Deccan. The victory saved Ahmadnagar from annihilation and engendered great confidence in the minds of the victors about the superiority of their military tactics and strength. It was a wonderful feat on the part of 'Ambar and humbled the pride of his adversaries.

After sending the prisoners to Daulatābād, 'Ambar hurried towards the fort of Ahmadnagar which was besieged. Leaving a detachment to continue its siege he marched against Bijāpur, which, too, was invested as Ibrāhim II had taken refuge within this walled city. He also attacked and occupied the territories of the 'Adil Shāhi kingdom upto the Mughul frontier in Balāghāt. Sholāpur was also invested and occupied within a short time (1625).⁶²

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In the meantime, another force had been despatched against Burhānpur, the Mughul commander of which, unable to resist, retired into the fort which was besieged.

When 'Ambar was thus in a favourable position, Shāh Jahān, driven from the north, again came to the Deccan and an alliance was formed between them. According to the arrangement, the Prince co-operated with the Nizām Shāhī force in pressing the siege of Burhānpur. Despite three successive efforts the fort could not be taken, and with the approach of Prince Parvīz and Mahābat Khān, who had been chasing the rebel prince, the siege was abandoned. Later on, the rebellion of Mahābat Khān and the close attention of the Mughuls to subdue him, afforded a suitable opportunity to 'Ambar to drive away the Mughuls from the Deccan, but his death in May, 1626, put an end to this checkered career. Before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing that he left intact the independence of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.

Malik 'Ambar was one of the greatest personalities that Islām produced in the Deccan and his wonderful abilities drew admiration even from his enemies, the Mughuls. From obscurity he rose to a position of the highest distinction, re-established and rejuvenated a fallen kingdom in the teeth of opposition of the Mughuls at the height of their power, gave it a well-organized government and consolidated it as far as practicable. He was a man of undaunted heroism, indefatigable energy and uncommon perseverance. He was a general of rare genius who remodelled the militia on a sound basis, best suited to the hilly regions of his adopted country. The guerilla tactics, so well organized by him with the Marāthā bands, highly strengthened his position, and at times, the Mughuls showed their bankruptcy in dealing with him.

Great as he was as a general, he was no less famous as a politician. His actions were always characterized by due caution and foresight. He showed his skill not only in the revival of the fallen kingdom but also in the formation of a powerful anti-Mughul coalition with the neighbouring States of Bijāpur and Golconda and it was only at the fag end of his career that a rift occurred with Ibrāhīm II "which threw the latter into their common enemy's arms."

He was also undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen in the Deccan. By removing lawlessness and other disintegrating forces he established a strong but benign government, based on sympathy and goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Muslims. He was tolerant to the Hindus, and no historian has stigmatized him for the demolition of any temple or other place of worship. The Hindus

and the Muslims were equally eligible for government service and many Marāthās like Shāhjī, the father of Shivājī, Sharifjī and Vithalrāj occupied high rank in the Nizām Shāhī government.

His wise revenue system is another instance of his farsightedness and constructive genius. Although new in the Deccan, it was based primarily on what Rājā Todarmal had introduced in northern India and some parts of Gujarāt and Khāndesh. 'Ambar's objects "were threefold: first, the good of the peasantry, secondly, encouragement and promotion of agriculture, and thirdly, enhancement of the Government revenue."⁶³

Lands were classified as good or bad according to their fertility and he took great pains and a number of years to ascertain the average yield of lands. He abolished revenue farming and relieved the peasantry from oppression of the land farmers. At first, revenue was fixed as two-fifths of the actual produce in kind, but later on, the cultivators were allowed to pay in cash "representing about one-third of the yield." Although an average rent was fixed for each plot of land, actual collections depended on the condition of crops, and they varied from year to year.⁶⁴ Such kind and sympathetic consideration on the part of the government gave satisfaction to the peasants, and encouraged cultivation of waste land.⁶⁵ This not only enhanced production but also augmented government revenue.

Malik 'Ambar was the last prop of the Ahmadnagar kingdom and his death was the beginning of its end. His eldest son, Fath Khān, was unscrupulous and incapable of holding the position of his father. Dissatisfied with his king, Murtazā II, he opened negotiations with the Mughuls, and at their suggestion, put him to death, and raised his son, Husain, a boy of ten, to the throne, with the title of Husain Nizām Shāh III.

Husain Nizām Shāh III (1630-1633)

Fath Khān was not sincere to the Mughuls and did not act up to his promise. So, Shāh Jahān, who was then the Mughul Emperor, took steps to punish him, and along with the boy king, he had to take shelter in the fortress of Daulatābād. Unable to resist for long, he was compelled to submit before the superior arms of the Mughuls (1631). But he again broke his pledge to them and they then proceeded against him and besieged Daulatābād. After a blockade of about four months they succeeded in capturing it (1633). The young king Husain was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Gwā-

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lior for the rest of his life and Fath Khān taken into the Mughul service.^{63a}

Thus came to an end the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and although an attempt was afterwards made by Shāhjī with the assistance of Bijāpur to revive it by setting up a scion of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, it proved abortive (1636).

III. THE 'ĀDIL-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BIJAPUR

Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān (1490-1510)

The founder of this dynasty was Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the Bahmanī governor of Bijāpur, who assumed independence in 1490. In his early life he was a Georgian slave and sold to Mahmūd Gāvān at Bīdar, but according to Firishta, he originally belonged to a royal family, being the son of Sultān Murād II of Turkey, who died in 1451 and was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad. On his accession, the latter gave orders for the execution of his brothers, including Yūsuf, who was saved by the extraordinary skill of his mother. She managed to substitute a slave boy for execution and sent her own son to Persia with the help of a Persian merchant. He was secretly brought up in Persia, and when he was seventeen years of age, he came to India and was sold as a Georgian slave to the Bahmanī minister Mahmūd Gāvān. From Firishta's writings it appears that he was satisfied as to the truth of the story.⁶⁴

By dint of his abilities as well as patronage of his new master, Yūsuf rose from one position to another till he became a person of prominence in the Bahmanī kingdom. Finally, he occupied the high position of the provincial governor of Bijāpur, and taking advantage of the weakness of the Bahmanī Sultān, he assumed a position of independence, in reality, though not in name.

The city of Bijāpur was made the seat of his government. He had a formidable enemy in Qāsim Barīd, the powerful minister and *de facto* ruler of the Bahmanī kingdom, who was extremely jealous of his growing power. Qāsim Barīd formed an alliance with Narasa Nayaka, the Regent of Vijayanagara, and Bahādur Gilānī, the ruler of Konkan, and they invaded Bijāpur. Narasa Nayaka attacked the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā doab and captured both the fortresses of Rāichūr and Mudgal. Unable to repel all the attacks of his enemies at a time, Yūsuf made peace with Vijayanagara by the cession of the above two forts and then drove away Bahādur Gilānī. Next, he marched against Qāsim Barīd who, in the meantime, had joined with Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk and Khvāja Jahān of Parenda. He met them in the vicinity of Naldurg where Qāsim

Barīd was defeated, and after this, a treaty was made between Yūsuf and Malik Ahmad.

As soon as he got rid of his enemies, Yūsuf directed his attention to recover Rāichūr and Mudgal, and Narasa Nāyaka marched to oppose him. In the battle which ensued, 'Adil Khān was severely defeated and, driven to a precarious condition, he took recourse to a stratagem, inviting Narasa Nāyaka and his young king Saluva Timma, with the nobles and officers for a peace conference and killing most of them by a treacherous attack; the king and the regent anyhow escaped death. After this, Yūsuf recovered both Rāichūr and Mudgal.⁶⁶

In response to a request for assistance by Mahmūd Shāh, the Bahmanī Sultān, in his campaign against Bahādur Gilānī, 'Adil Khān despatched a contingent of five thousand cavalry to him. This helped his own cause as well, as it was with the assistance of the Bahmanī Sultān and his minister Qāsim Barīd that he got back the fortress of Jamkhandi which Bahādur had occupied.

In 1504, 'Adil Khan succeeded in gaining possession of the province of Gulbarga, then held by Dastur Dinar, an Abyssinian, who was defeated and killed. This acquisition enlarged his territory on the east.

Due to his long stay in Persia in his early life, Yūsuf was deeply attached to the Shiah faith and cherished the idea of establishing it in his dominion, but so long he could not put his ideas into action, as he was preoccupied with manifold difficulties. Now that he felt secure and strong enough to carry out his contemplated project, he made this creed the State religion, but perfect toleration was allowed to his Sunnī subjects. This innovation created enmity not only at home but also abroad, and a formidable confederacy was formed against him by some of his Muslim neighbours, viz., Malik Ahmad, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and Mahmūd Shāh, the nominal Bahmanī Sultān, under instruction of his minister Amīr Barīd; and, on their request, Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telingāna, too, joined them. Unable to cope with them Yūsuf fled to Berār, and, on the advice of Alā-ud-din 'Imād-ul-Mulk, gave orders for the restoration of the Sunnī faith and withdrew to Burhānpur. 'Imād-ul-Mulk pointed out to Malik Ahmad and Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk that Amīr Barīd had been on the look out for the annihilation of 'Adil Khān for his own selfish motive and not for religion, and as 'Adil Khān had already restored the Sunnī creed, there was no valid ground for continuing the war against him. Convinced of these arguments they left the confederacy, and 'Adil Khān

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with the assistance of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, defeated Mahmud Shāh and Amir Barid who fled to Bidar. Thereupon Yūsuf returned in triumph to Bijāpur, and "being no longer apprehensive of his enemies, he renewed the public exercise of the Shiah religion."⁶⁷

Goa, which was within the territory of Bijāpur, was a very important port on the Malabar coast. It "was more favourably situated than Calicut or Cochin as far as the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was concerned, and it was for this reason that Albuquerque, the governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East, desired to possess it."⁶⁸ He made a surprise attack on it and occupied it without any difficulty (1510), but it did not remain long in his possession, as it was shortly recovered by 'Ādil Khān.⁶⁹

'Ādil Khān died in October, 1510, and was buried at Gogi, to the east of Bijāpur city. Firishta praised him highly for his good qualities. He was handsome, brave, a skilled musician, "eminent for his learning, his liberality", and "intimately acquainted with human nature."

"Although he mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to these virtues. He invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Turkistan, and Room, also several eminent artists, who lived happily under the shadow of bounty."⁷⁰

Ismā'il Adil Khān (1510-1534)

During the minority of Ismā'il, Kamāl Khān, an experienced officer whom Yūsuf had appointed regent before his death, carried on the affairs of the government. He established the Sunni faith as the State religion.

Albuquerque was on the look out for an opportunity to recover Goa, and in November, 1510, when most of its army was away in Bijāpur to attend a State ceremony, he made a surprise attack on it and re-occupied it. Goa was thus lost for ever to Bijāpur.

Concentration of too much power in the hands of Kamāl Khān made him highly ambitious. He entered into a conspiracy with Amir Barid and made an attempt to oust Ismā'il and seize the reins of government in his own hands. But it proved futile and he was assassinated.

Amīr Barid was bent on curbing the power of Bijāpur. Jahāngir Khān, the adopted son of Dastur Dinar, was given all possible

assistance to recover Gulbarga which his father had once held and which Kamāl Khān had also secretly promised to cede to Amīr Barīd. It was recovered and Jahāngīr was placed in charge of it as a provincial governor. But Bijāpur retook it, whereupon, Amīr Barīd, in the name of the Bahmanī Sultān, Mahmūd Shāh, appealed for aid to Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berār, all of whom responded to the call. Accompanied by their forces, Barīd, along with the Sultān marched against Bijāpur. But Ismā'il inflicted a severe defeat on them, and Mahmūd and his son Ahmad fell into the hands of the Bijāpur forces. 'Adil Khān showed proper respect to the Sultān and at the request of the latter, Bibi Musity, the sister of Ismā'il, who had been affianced to Ahmad, was married to the latter at Gulbarga. After the ceremony, five thousand Bijāpur cavalry were sent to escort Mahmūd Shāh to Bidar. On the approach of this army, Amīr Barīd fled away but as soon as they left Bidar, he came back, and resumed control of all affairs of the Bahmanī Kingdom as before.¹¹

Ismā'il had also the privilege of receiving high honour from Shāh Ismā'il Safavī, the Sultān of Persia, in return for his assistance in relieving a Persian ambassador from unnecessary detention at Bidār by the Sunnī bigot, Amīr Barīd. Highly satisfied, the Persian king sent him rich presents and addressed him as an independent ruler.¹²

The minority of the Sultān and Kamāl Khān's hostile activities against him had afforded an opportunity to Krishṇadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, to invade the Bijāpur kingdom. He attacked and occupied Rāichūr (1512). Getting rid of his internal troubles and in an opportune moment when Krishṇadevarāya was busy in his war against Orissa, Ismā'il marched towards Rāichūr and captured it. Highly incensed at this, Krishṇadevarāya again proceeded there with a large army and invested this fort (1520). Ismā'il also moved against him, and in the battle which ensued, he sustained a severe defeat with heavy losses. He had no alternative but to take to his heels, and while retreating, many of his troops were swept away by the strong current of the Krishnā. But the Bijāpur army in the fort did not yield and fought valiantly, till their commander's death paralysed the defence, and made them surrender.

Hostilities continued between Ismā'il and Krishṇadevarāya in which the former suffered several reverses, and even the city of Bijāpur was once occupied by the enemy. But after the death of Krishṇadevarāya, 'Adil Khān again invaded the Rāichūr doab

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(1530) and succeeded in gaining possession of both Rāichūr and Mudgal.⁷²

His relations with the neighbouring Muslim States have mostly been described in connection with the history of Ahmadnagar and Bidar. While he was conducting the siege of Kovelakonda, a fortress on the border of Golconda, he was attacked with a high fever which proved fatal (1534). He was interred at Gogi, close to the tomb of his father.

He was just, kind, magnanimous, averse to harsh language, and fond of wit and humour. He was also a poet and patron of the learned, a skilled musician, and an expert painter.

Mallū 'Adil Khān (1534-1535)

According to the will of Ismā'īl, his son Mallū Khān was elevated in his place with the assistance of Asad Khān, the most influential Bijāpur noble, who became protector of the State. The latter had been entrusted by Ismā'īl to prosecute the siege of Kovelakonda, but it was abandoned, and the Bijāpur forces retreated to Gulbarga.

Mallū was unfit to reign. He neglected his duties and indulged in low vices, the result of which was discontent and confusion in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity to recover the Rāichūr doab, Achyutadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, invaded and succeeded in wresting it from Bijāpur, compelling Mallū to accept his terms.⁷³

The excesses of the latter became so intolerable that even his grandmother went against him and had him removed and blinded, raising his younger brother Ibrāhīm in his place.

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I (1535-1557)

The first act of Ibrāhīm was to establish the Sunnī faith, to which he belonged, as the State religion, and to discontinue the use of the head-dress of the Shiahs in his army. He then dismissed a large number of foreigners and appointed Deccanis and Abyssinians in their places. Another innovation which also went against the foreigners was the introduction of the Deccani languages like Marāthi and Kannada, instead of Persian, for maintenance of Government accounts which were then kept by the Brāhmīns in exclusion of the foreigners. The Brāhmīns thus got a good opportunity of acquiring considerable influence in the government.

Ibrāhīm I took advantage of the internecine quarrels in Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutadevarāya and invaded that kingdom. Nagalapur, a town near Vijayanagara, was "razed to the ground" and both Achyutadevarāya and Rāmarājā, who were at enmity with each other, were afraid lest he should join hands with the other side. 'Ādil Shāh besieged the city of Vijayanagara, and, by negotiations with the contending parties, settled their differences after which he returned to his kingdom on receipt of a large sum of money, twelve fine elephants, and some horses as a reward for his services.⁷⁴

Later on, his attempt to take possession of the fortress of Adoni from Vijayanagara appeared to have ended in fiasco. His relations with Ahmadnagar and other States of the Deccan have already been discussed in the section on Ahmadnagar and need not be repeated here.

Suspecting treachery on the part of some of his officers he put to death seventy Muslims and forty Hindus of high rank in course of two months. Such cruel action did not go without serious reaction, and a conspiracy was formed to depose him and place his brother 'Abdullāh on the throne (1545). But the matter leaked out and most of the conspirators were put to death. It was with great difficulty that 'Abdullāh managed to escape to the Portuguese at Goa.

Although the relation between Bijāpur and the Portuguese was friendly for a considerable time, it was disturbed by the presence of Prince 'Abdullāh at Goa, as Ibrāhīm I was anxious to gain possession of his rebel brother. He proposed to cede Salsette and Bardez to the Portuguese on condition of the surrender of his brother. But without complying with it, they proposed to send him to Malacca. They did not act up to this proposal even, but occupied Salsette and Bardez, and this finally brought Bijāpur and Goa into conflict. Ibrāhīm I was ultimately forced to give up his claim on these places and conclude peace with the Portuguese in August, 1548, mainly for two reasons: he had become anxious when he heard of the separate treaties of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar with the Portuguese, and moreover, he was aware that enmity with Goa would mean loss of maritime commerce, as it was the Portuguese navy which then controlled the trade of the Arabian Sea.⁷⁵

'Abdullāh's case never prospered, and, in 1555, when his cause was championed by Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, then a hostile Bijāpur noble, he was captured and imprisoned.⁷⁶

At the fag end of his career, Ibrāhīm I led a dissipated life which hastened his death. He fell ill and died in 1557.

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It has already been stated that he was the first ruler of this dynasty to assume the title of "Shāh".

'Alī 'Adil Shāh I (1557-1580)

Ibrāhīm I had a mind to nominate his younger son Tahmāsp as his successor in preference to his eldest son 'Alī who was a Shiah, but when it came to his knowledge that Tahmāsp was a more zealous Shiah than 'Alī, he became highly incensed and left the matter of succession without any decision. On his decease, 'Alī ascended the throne with the aid of the influential 'Adil Shāhī nobles.

'Alī 'Adil Shāh's first act was the re-establishment of the Shiah faith as the State religion and encouragement to the foreigners to enter his service.

It has been stated in the history of Husain Nizām Shāh (1553-1565) that 'Alī I formed an alliance with Vijayanagara against Husain (1558) and humbled him. The confederate army, particularly the Vijayanagara army, carried on depredations on an extensive scale in the territories of Ahmadnagar and these were highly resented by the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms. These, along with other reasons, which brought about a coalition of the four Deccani Muslim States including Bijāpur against Vijayanagara and the parts played in the formation of this alliance as well as in the battle of Talikota by 'Alī I, have also been discussed above.^{76a}

In 1569, 'Alī formed alliances with Murtazā Nizām Shāh I and the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese with a view to recovering Goa. The plan was quite sound, as it was decided to attack both Chaul and Goa simultaneously, thus dividing Portuguese military strength in two places at the same time. The military operations began in January, 1570. Chaul, which was a Portuguese outpost in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, was besieged by Murtazā I and Goa by 'Alī I. But none of the operations succeeded, as the Portuguese repulsed all their attacks. The siege of Chaul was abandoned after seven months and 'Alī also ultimately gave up the siege of Goa and retreated.

After this, 'Alī decided to extend his kingdom in the south and moved against Adoni, the hill fortress of Vijayanagara, and succeeded in capturing it after prolonged siege. His enhancement of power in this region was looked upon with disfavour by Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, but instead of coming to arms both of them decided amicably to allow each other to extend their respective frontiers in the areas which each coveted. A treaty was concluded permit-

ting Murtazā I to annex Berār and Bidar, and 'Alī I to conquer an equivalent territory in the Western Carnatic.⁷⁷

In accordance with the above arrangement, 'Alī I marched with his minister Mustafā Khān to the Western Carnatic and conquered many places one after another, some of which were kept under his direct administration and others allowed to remain under their respective local chiefs who paid him tribute. Mustafā Khān was appointed Governor of the conquered territories with his headquarters at Chandraguni and 'Alī returned to Bijāpur (1575) after an absence of more than three years.

Next year, he marched to Adoni and thence to Penukonda, the capital of Śrīraṅga I of Vijayanagara. On his approach, the latter retired with his treasures into the fort of Chandragiri, leaving the defence of the capital to his general Chennappa. 'Alī laid siege to it but the garrison held out for three months, and when they were almost ready to surrender, Śrīraṅga bought over a Marāthā commander of 'Alī. This desertion helped the cause of Vijayanagara which received help from Golconda also, and Chennappa Nayaka succeeded in defeating 'Adil Shāh who was compelled to raise the siege (1576) and retire to Bijāpur.^{77a}

Having no issue, 'Alī nominated his nephew Ibrāhim, the son of Tahmāsp, as his successor. Within a few months, 'Alī was assassinated by one of the two eunuchs whom he had brought from Bīdar (1580) as a price for his help to 'Alī Barīd against an Ahmadnagar invasion.

It was during the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh that the wall of Bijāpur city was constructed, and arrangements were made for ample supply of water in the walled city by cutting an aqueduct and constructing a large reservoir. He showed his fine taste for architecture, specially by the construction of buildings like Jami Masjid, Mecca Masjid, and Gagan Mahal or Hall of Audience. Although not fully completed, Jāmi 'Masjid "is the best proportioned building in the city" of Bijāpur and "for simplicity of design, impressive grandeur and the solemn hush of its corridors" it "stands unrivalled."⁷⁸

Ibrāhim 'Adil Shāh II (1580-1627)

Ibrāhim ascended the throne at the age of nine. Kāmil Khān Deccani was appointed regent and Chānd Sultān, the widow of 'Alī I and daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh I, was entrusted with the education of the minor Sultān. But the regent having shown disrespect to Chānd Sultān, she and Hāji Kishvar Khān, another Deccani of

high rank, planned to remove him, and one evening, while Kāmil Khān was engaged in an official work in the palace, Kishvar Khān attempted to seize him whereupon he took to flight but was seized and beheaded.⁷⁹

Kishvar Khān was then appointed regent, and, following in the footsteps of Kāmil Khān, he also exercised uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Taking advantage of these internal troubles in Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar invaded it, but Bihzad-ul-Mulk, the commander of the Nizām Shāhī army, sustained a heavy defeat at Dhārāseo and all his artillery and elephants fell into the hands of his enemies. The victory was again followed by an internecine quarrel in consequence of an order issued by the Regent to the military officers to give up the elephants, captured in the last campaign, to the Sultān. This gave offence to the nobles concerned who not only refused compliance but determined to oust him from the regency and instal Mustafā Khān, another nobleman, in his place. Informed of these designs, Kishvar Khān made a conspiracy against Mustafā and had him assassinated.⁸⁰

Highly enraged at this cold-blooded murder, Chānd Sultān upbraided Kishvar Khān who, in retaliation, had her confined in the fortress of Satara. This and some other high-handed acts made him extremely unpopular and a strong party was formed against him. Feeling his position insecure and resistance impossible, he fled to Ahmadnagar, but being unable to find a shelter there he went to Golconda where he was assassinated by a relative of Mustafā. Although Chānd Sultān was released from Satara, the situation in Bijāpur did not improve; party strife continued, and encouraged by such internal dissensions, Ahmadnagar, in conjunction with Golconda, invaded Bijāpur and laid siege to the fortress of Naldurg. The garrison defended it with all their might and its commandant resisted every effort of the enemy to reduce it. Finding difficulty in capturing it and expecting that dissensions prevailing at the capital would help its fall and hasten the conquest of other places of the 'Adil Shāhī State, the confederate army raised the siege of Naldurg and proceeded towards the capital. There were then only two to three thousand troops to defend the city, and although reinforcements arrived within a few days, there was lack of concerted action and desertions followed from their camp. On the other hand, the Ahmadnagar camps, too, were suffering from discords and dissensions which delayed their assault on the walled city.

Chānd Sultān entrusted the work of defence to an able officer named Abu'l-Hasan who saved the situation by summoning the

Marāthā forces from the Carnatic and employing them in harassing enemies by cutting off their supplies and in all other possible manner. Both the forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconda began to feel badly the pinch of starvation and they were compelled to retreat. The Nizām Shāhī army retired to Ahmadnagar after plundering some places of Bijāpur on the way, while the forces of Golconda were defeated and driven out of Bijāpur, even to the gates of Golconda.

When Bijāpur was free from foreign aggression, internal disorders again vitiated its atmosphere. It was Dilāvar Khān who had driven back the Qutb Shāhī forces; and, on return from this successful campaign, he coveted the high position of minister by ousting Ikhlās Khān who was captured, blinded, and kept in confinement, and Dilāvar Khān became all powerful in the kingdom. Abu'l-Hasan was also blinded and put to death. Chānd Sultān's power was curtailed and the Sunnī faith established as the State religion. Dilāvar remained the dominant force in Bijāpur for eight years from 1582 to 1590 and, during this period, matrimonial alliances were formed with Golconda and Ahmadnagar. Ibrāhīm II married a sister of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and his sister Khadīja was married to Miran Husain, the son of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. But within a few years, war again commenced between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur and Dilāvar Khān was defeated at Dhārāseo (1591). This led to his fall and he was forced to leave Bijāpur and take shelter in Ahmadnagar where he entered the service of Burhān Nizām Shāh II. The latter refused to send him back to Bijāpur and his instigation led to a renewal of war between these two kingdoms, but Burhān sustained a serious defeat. These have already been stated in the history of Ahmadnagar.

By a stratagem, Ibrāhīm II inflicted a befitting punishment on the traitor, Dilāvar Khān, when he came back to Bijāpur on assurances of safety as well as of reinstatement to his former position. He was blinded and confined in the fortress of Satara, till his death.⁸¹

Relieved of the control of Dilāvar, Ibrāhīm II assumed charge of the government, but even then, he was not free from domestic troubles. In 1594 his brother, Ismā'il, rebelled against him, and although the situation became very serious owing to the defection of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the Amīr-ul-Umara, and the advance of Burhān II to aid the rebels, Ibrāhīm succeeded in quelling the rebellion before the Nizām Shāhī army could actually come to the assistance of his enemies. Both Ismā'il and 'Ain-ul-mulk were captured and put to death.

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Subsequent relations of Ibrāhīm II with Burhān II and his son Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh have already been described in the history of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom.^{81a} When, on the death of the last-named Ahmadnagar Sultān, that kingdom was convulsed by party strife as well as Mughul invasion, Ibrāhīm II, at the request of Chānd Sultān, rendered necessary assistance to it to tide over the difficulties. Although the kingdom could not be saved, the fact remains that 'Adil Shāh was not slow in lending aid to his neighbouring State in its hour of peril in spite of long-standing enmity existing between them. Subsequently, when Malik 'Ambar appeared as a saviour on the political arena of Ahmadnagar and sought his assistance, he helped him in his efforts to revive the fallen fortunes of the State, and like that astute politician, he, too, realized the necessity of mutual aid and co-operation with a view to protecting their kingdoms against Mughul aggression. At the request of 'Ambar he allowed 'Alī, a scion of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, then at Bijāpur, to proceed to Parenda and ascend the throne of the newly revived Ahmadnagar kingdom with the title of Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk.

Ibrāhīm II also joined hands with 'Ambar in his conflicts with the Mughuls on many occasions, and it was unfortunate that a rift occurred between them at the fag end of their career, but it must be said to their credit that they foiled the Mughul efforts to annex the south for a considerable time.^{81b}

It was during the reign of this monarch that Bidar was annexed to the 'Adil Shāhī kingdom (1619).

In spite of his preoccupations in war, Ibrāhīm II devoted his time to the civil administration of his country. In this connection Meadows Taylor says: "He applied himself to the civil affairs with much care, and the land settlements of the provinces of his kingdom, many of which are still extant among district records, show an admirable and efficient system of registration of property and its valuation. In this respect, the system of Todar Mal introduced by the Emperor Akbar seems to have been followed with the necessary local modifications."⁸²

About his tolerance and broadness of mind the same writer says: "Although he changed the profession of the State religion immediately upon assuming the direction of State affairs from Shiah to Sunnī, Ibrāhīm was yet extremely tolerant of all creeds and faiths. Hindus not only suffered no persecution at his hands, but many of his chief civil and military officers were Brahmins and Marathas."⁸³ His liberal views were testified to by Firishta as

well,⁸⁴ and he was known as the "Jagadguru", or "spiritual guide of the world."

He was a man of culture, patron of the learned and fond of music and poetry. It was during his reign that Muhammad Qāsim Firishta wrote the famous *Tārīkh*, better known as the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*. He was also a great builder and several ornate buildings erected by him show his fine taste. Of these, the Ananda Mahal or palace of delight, built in 1589, is a very conspicuous palace in the Bijāpur fort; the Mihtar Mahal, Malikā Jahān Masjid and the mausoleum of his queen Tāj Sultān also deserve special mention.

He died in September, 1627, and was buried at a short distance from the walled city of Bijāpur. His own mausoleum in the group of buildings known as the Ibrāhīm Rauza is a richly decorated structure. It was not quite finished during his life-time and was completed during the reign of his son Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

Muhammad 'Adil Shāh (1627-1656)

Although Darvesh was the eldest son of the late Sultān, his claim was set aside by the joint intrigues of the minister Mustafā Khān and another influential Bijāpur noble named Daulat Khān. Darvesh was blinded, and his younger brother Muhammad, a boy of fifteen, was raised to the throne, under the title of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

Early in his reign, the Nizām Shāhī army under Hamīd Khān invaded Bijāpur, but they were defeated and compelled to retreat to their territory.

On his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān started a vigorous policy against the Deccan States.^{84a} In 1631, Bijāpur was invaded, and although the Mughul army scored some successes at the early stages of the campaign and laid siege to the fort of Bijāpur, they were ultimately compelled to withdraw, due to acute shortage of supplies.

Shāh Jahān, who was bent upon annexing the Deccan States, was highly dissatisfied at this discomfiture. The conduct of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, who tried to seize some of the territories of the fallen Nizām Shāhī kingdom and offered secret aid to Shāhjī in his effort to revive that kingdom, further annoyed him. Besides, the emperor, who was a staunch Sunnī, bore hatred against these States, many of whose princes, nobles and people professed the Shiah faith. Both Bijāpur and Golconda were

asked to accept Mughul suzerainty and some other terms. Shāh Jahān personally went to the Deccan for better conduct of affairs (1636), and three armies of 50,000 men in all were kept ready for action against them.

Golconda submitted in terror, but 'Ādil Shāh decided to resist Mughul aggression. Bijāpur was invaded from three sides and the Mughul armies carried on extensive devastations in the towns and villages, mercilessly massacring the inhabitants. Although the Sultān fought with great valour and defended his capital by cutting the dam of the Shāhpur lake and flooding the surrounding country-side, he was eventually compelled to sue for peace, and a treaty was concluded between them in May, 1636. The Sultān of Bijāpur acknowledged the "overlordship" of the Mughul emperor, promised not to cause any annoyance to the Sultān of Golconda, now his (emperor's) vassal, and agreed to pay a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees as an annual tribute. In return, Shāh Jahān assigned to Bijāpur a part of the recently conquered Ahmadnagar territory consisting of fifty *parganās* which included Sholāpur and vangi *mahals*, the *parganās* of Bhalki and Chidgupa, north Konkan, and the Poona district, yielding an annual revenue of eighty lakhs of rupees, while the Mughuls annexed the rest of Ahmadnagar. The Sultān was ordered to abstain from aiding Shāhji in any hostile activity.^{84b}

After this, friendly relations prevailed between Muhammad 'Adil Shāh and the Mughul emperor, and there were exchanges of presents between the two. Thus feeling secure on the north, 'Ādil Shāh diverted his attention towards the extension of his frontiers on the other three sides, viz., the east, south and west.

"The principality of Ikkeri had been raided in 1635 at the invitation of a local faction, and a heavy fine of 30 lakhs of *huns* imposed on its Rājā Virabhadra Nāyak."⁸⁵ In 1637 the invasion was renewed at the invitation of Kenge Hanuma, chief of Bāsavapattanam and Tarikere, a recalcitrant feudatory of Ikkeri.^{85a} Randaulah Khān, with a huge force consisting of 40,000 cavalry, besides infantry and elephant corps, invaded Ikkeri. He proceeded as far as Ikkeri, the capital city, and, unable to resist long, Virabhadra retreated to the fortress of Bhuvanagiri. After occupying the capital city, the Bijāpur army laid siege to Bhuvanagiri, whereupon he was compelled to sue for peace, and, according to the terms of the treaty, he had to surrender the forts already occupied by the Bijāpur army and acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultān of Bijāpur. Shortly after this, Ikkeri helped Bijāpur to crush Tarikere and Bāsavapattanam.⁸⁶

In 1647, Mustafā Khān, the Bijāpur general, marched against Śrīraṅga III of Vijayanagara, and took several places including Krishnagiri and Deva Durga. In the same year he arrived at Vellore where he met Mīr Jumla, the Golconda general, and it was arranged that they would wrest the territories of Śrīraṅga and divide them between Bijāpur and Golconda. Vellore was besieged and occupied by Mustafā Khān whose victorious army took possession of many other places including Kaveripattanam, Hasan, Kanakagiri, Ratnagiri and Arjunakote, all belonging to Vijayanagara.⁸⁷

On Mustafā Khān's death in November, 1648, the command of the Bijāpur expeditionary forces devolved on Khān Muhammad (Khān Khānān) who succeeded in capturing the fortress of Gingee in December, 1649. The victors received a rich booty consisting of gold, silver and precious stones worth several crores of rupees. The Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore then offered their submission,⁸⁸ and towards the west, the 'Adil Shāhī army obtained some successes against the Portuguese of Goa also. The territories of Bijāpur now extended "from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, across the Indian Peninsula."⁸⁹

It was during this reign that Shivājī started his activities against Bijāpur and the serious illness of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh in 1646 afforded him a grand opportunity for the same. He occupied many forts, one after another, like Torna, Kondhana (Simhagarh), Chakan and Purandar; but, for these acts of disloyalty, his father Shāhjī was arrested and Shivājī secured his release with great difficulty.

Muhammad 'Adil Shāh breathed his last in November, 1656. It was during his reign that the 'Adil Shāhī kingdom attained its greatest extent and power. At the time of his death it "had an annual revenue of seven krores and eighty-four lakhs of rupees, besides five krores twenty-five lakhs of tribute due from vassal rājāhs and zamindars. The strength of the army establishment was 80,000 cavalry and 2,50,000 infantry, besides 530 war elephants. The exact extent of the kingdom can be judged from the fringe of dependent and tributary states around it, covering the Kanara and Dharwar districts of Bombay, the Bellary and Karnool districts of Madras, and much of the kingdom of Mysore."⁹⁰

Muhammad 'Adil Shāh was well known for piety, justice and love for his subjects, and was a patron of arts, literature and science. He also earned great reputation as a builder; the most conspicuous building erected by him in Bijāpur was his own mausoleum, the great Gol Gumbaz, which contains one of the greatest domes in the world.

He also erected the Asar Mahal within which was enshrined two hairs of the Prophet's beard.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (1656-1672)

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II, the only son of the late Sultān, was then placed on the throne with the help of Queen Bari Sāhibā and prime minister Khān Muhammad. He was only eighteen years of age and incapable of controlling different factions within the kingdom. Disorders followed in some of the newly conquered territories and consequent loss of them, and the nobles began to quarrel among themselves for power. Aurangzīb, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, considered it a convenient time for the invasion of Bijāpur, and with the sanction of the emperor, on the plea that 'Alī was not really a son of the late king, he opened his campaign against 'Ādil Shāh and laid siege to the fort of Bīdar. In the meantime, he had been able to seduce some of the 'Ādil Shāhī nobles; Mīr Jumla, who had deserted his master, the Sultān of Golconda, and joined the Mughuls, rendered immense help to him.

But this declaration of war against Bijāpur on an issue which was purely its own concern, was wholly unjustified. Bīdar fell after a gallant resistance of twenty-seven days (1657). Bijāpur could not check the advance of the Mughuls who ravaged an extensive area of the kingdom and laid siege to Kalyāni, forty miles west of Bidar, and once the capital of the Chālukya kings, which also fell (1657). 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II was compelled to sue for peace, and on the intercession of Dārā, Shāh Jahān agreed to conclude a treaty with Bijāpur. 'Ādil Shāh consented to surrender Bīdar, Kalyāni and Parenda, and pay an indemnity of one crore of rupees to the Mughuls.

After these, the news of serious illness of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb's march towards the north to contest the throne, and quarrels among the Bijāpur nobles, culminating in the murder of Khān Muhammad, gave Shivājī an opportunity for his ambitious projects. He hurried to Konkan and occupied Kalyān, Bhivandi and the fort of Mahuli.

In 1659 the Bijāpur government sent Afzal Khān, a noble of high rank, with 10,000 cavalry against Shivājī with instruction to capture him dead or alive. It has been already narrated how Afzal Khān opened negotiations with the Marāthā chief, met him in a conference, and was killed by Shivājī (pp. 258-9).

The leaderless Bijāpur army became panic-stricken and had no courage to oppose the enemy. Many of them were killed and others

surrendered. Their losses were heavy and all their artillery, ammunition, and camp equipage fell into the hands of the Marāthās (1659).

After this triumph, Shivāji captured the fort of Panhālā and obtained more successes against Bijāpur. To avenge these losses and drive away the rebel, 'Ali II sent Fazi Khān and Sīdī Jauhar, now entitled Salābat Khān, and Shivāji was defeated and forced to take shelter in the fort of Panhālā which was also besieged. It was with difficulty that the latter managed to escape.

Taking advantage of ill-feeling between the Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore, 'Ali II despatched a large army against them. A surprise attack was made on Tanjore upon which its Nāyaka, Vijayarāghava, fled to Vallam and the Bijāpur force occupied Tanjore without much difficulty (1659). The fort of Vallam also fell without any resistance, as the Nāyaka had fled to the forests of Talavarayan and the garrison did not defend it. The victors then proceeded to the fort of Trichinopoly and laid siege to it, but due to famine and troubles created by the Kallars (robber chiefs), they had to retire on receipt of a sum of money only from the Nāyaka of Madura. Soon after, Vijayarāghava reoccupied Tanjore. In 1663, another expedition was sent to Trichinopoly which was besieged, and the surrounding regions were plundered. But in spite of repeated attacks, the fort could not be occupied and the Bijāpur army had to retire on receipt of a large sum of money from the ruler of Madura.⁹¹

The Nāyaka of Ikkeri had recovered several forts like Ikkeri, Soraba, Udugani, Mahādevpura and Ambaligolla from Bijāpur, and 'Ali II led a campaign against him, defeated him near Ambaligolla, and occupied Bednor, the then capital of Ikkeri. The fort of Bhuvanagiri was then invested, but Bhadrappa Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Ikkeri (1662-64), adopted guerilla tactics and cut off all communications of the Bijāpur forces who were obliged to make peace with him and retire. 'Ali II sent another expedition against Ikkeri and occupied three of its forts (about 1668).⁹²

In the meantime, Bijāpur had to face another Mughul invasion, and this was led by Jay Singh (1665-66). Although the Mughul advance was rapid for some time, it soon received a serious set-back through the exertions of 'Ali II, and Jay Singh was compelled to retire without achieving anything. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, not a pice of indemnity was gained."⁹³

After this, 'Ali II did not at all attend to his duties but spent his time in idle pleasures. Fortunately for him, he had an able prime

minister in 'Abdul Muhammad who conducted the administration with efficiency.

The Sultān died of paralysis in 1672 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar, a boy of four only. 'Ali was a patron of Urdu literature. Among the court-poets who flourished during his reign and wrote in Deccani Urdu were Miān Nusrati, Miān Hansi and Mirjan Marsiya. "Besides the two memorable works *Gulshan-i-Ishq* and *Ali Nama*, Nusrati composed numerous *Qasidahs* and *Diwan-i-Ghazals* full of beauty and virility. Miān Hansi's solid contributions to literature are his story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, *Ghazals* and other poems. Mirjan Marsiya, the third notable poet and writer, wrote verses in praise of the Prophet, Hasan and Husain, and the Imams."⁹⁴

Sikandar 'Adil Shāh (1672-1686)

Sikandar was the last of the 'Adil Shāhī Sultāns, and as he was a minor, the administration of the kingdom was run by its *wazirs* or prime ministers who also acted as regents. "The history of Bijāpur from 1672 to 1686 is really the history of its *wazirs*. It was a period marked by chronic civil war among the factious nobles, independence of the provincial governors, paralysis of the central administration in the capital itself, occasional but indecisive Mughul invasions, and a secret alliance but pretended hostility with the Marāthās."⁹⁵

Immediately after the death of 'Ali II, Khavāss Khān, the Abyssinian leader of the Deccani party, seized the real powers of the State and became prime minister and regent. But due to his incapacity and indolence there were disturbances in the kingdom, and taking advantage of this situation, Shivājī conquered some of its territories and the Mughuls began to seduce its nobles. Khavāss Khān was in power for three years, and when he had quarrels and bitter animosity with 'Abdul Karim Buhlūl Khān, the commander-in-chief and leader of the Afghān party, the latter invited him to a dinner and imprisoned him in a drunken state (1675). Buhlūl then stepped into his position but his regime of two years was worse. He raised his own men to high posts and expelled those of the Deccani party. Disorders followed in the kingdom and his chief adviser, Khizr Khān, was murdered; in revenge, Buhlūl murdered Khavāss Khān. The Mughuls took up the cause of the Deccani party who had sought their assistance and occupied Naldurg and Gulbarga (1677).

Under the Afghān regime the sufferings of the people knew no bounds, and, at last, on the death of Buhlūl (1678), Sidi Mas'ud,

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

another Bijāpūrī noble, with the assistance of the Mughuls, became prime minister and regent. He made peace with the Mughuls, one of the conditions of which was that Shahr Banu Begam, Sikandar's sister, was to be married to a son of Aurangzib, and, according to this, she left the city of Bijāpur in 1679 and was married to Prince A'zam in July, 1681.^{95a}

The condition of Bijāpur went from bad to worse. The government was bankrupt, and disorder and anarchy prevailed in the State due to quarrels between Mas'ud and Sharza Khān, an influential noble. The Regent could not, in the least, improve the dilapidated condition of the kingdom and its future seemed to be doomed.

After a bitter experience of five years as *wazir* and regent, Mas'ud resigned his office early in 1684. Aqa Khusrav, who then occupied his place in March, 1684, died in October of the same year. The time was extremely ominous and dark clouds were hanging on the political horizon of Bijāpur. The most intrepid general, Sayyid Makhdum surnamed Sharza Khān, was entrusted with the defence of the kingdom.

In the meantime, the Mughuls had been appropriating Bijāpur territories and establishing their outposts in them. Mangalvide and Sangola were conquered in May, 1684. Aurangzib, who was determined to annex this kingdom both on political and religious grounds, took vigorous steps to prosecute his plans. Acrimonious letters passed between him and Sikandar, and a serious rupture seemed imminent, although some months passed before the formal outbreak of war. In such a critical time, the Sultān of Golconda promised aid to Bijāpur and a Marāthā contingent also arrived there from Shambhūjī.

In April, 1685, the Mughuls laid siege to the fort of Bijāpur, and Prince A'zam reached there in June to take charge of the operations. The Bijāpurīs fought valiantly for the defence of their capital and within a month three severe battles were fought. They cut off the supplies of the Mughuls who suffered terribly for want of provisions, but the prince was resolute and conducted the siege in spite of his father's order to return. Aurangzib then sent sufficient provisions, money and reinforcements which saved the besieging army, but even after a siege of fifteen months, there was no real progress owing to discord and jealousy among the officers. So, the Emperor himself went to Rasulpur, a suburb west of the fort, (1686),^{95b} and pressed the siege in right earnest. His personal presence and firm determination to capture the fort cowed down the courage of the Bijāpurīs. They lost heart, as they saw no hope of

saving their capital city. The garrison had shrunk to two thousand men only and there was no possibility of assistance from outside. The scarcity of provisions due to famine made their position still more intolerable and it was not possible to resist any longer.

In September, 1686, Sikandar surrendered to the Mughul Emperor.^{95c} Thus, the 'Ādil Shāhi kingdom lost its independent existence and was annexed to the Mughul Empire. Sikandar was enrolled as a Mughul peer, with an annual pension of one lakh of rupees, but he had to suffer life-long imprisonment and died in April, 1700, when he was less than thirty-two.

With the loss of independence, Bijāpur, which was once "the queen of southern India", wore the look of a desolate city.

IV. THE 'IMĀD-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BERĀR

The founder of this dynasty, Fath-ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk, was originally a Hindu from Karnatak. In his boyhood, he was taken prisoner by the Bahmanī army, converted to Islām and appointed one of the body-guards of Khān Jahān, the governor of Berār. By dint of his abilities he rose to positions of distinction and received the lofty title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He also became the governor of Berār, the most northern province of the Bahmanī kingdom, and the weakness of the central government encouraged him to assume independence in 1490.⁹⁶

He exerted his utmost to improve and strengthen the newly founded autonomous State, and after his death in 1504, his eldest son, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, succeeded him as the ruler of Berār.

'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh (1504-30)

During 'Alā-ud-dīn's time started the long-drawn struggle with Ahmadnagar, culminating in the annexation of Berār by the former. Various factors were responsible for this conflict. First, the relation between these two kingdoms was strained due to an invasion of Ahmadnagar by Berār with a view to rendering assistance to some disaffected Nizām Shāhi nobles who had taken shelter in it. Although the invasion was repulsed by the Nizām Shāhis (1510) and a peace concluded between these kingdoms, it did not last long, and they again came to arms for another and more important cause. Burhān Nizām Shāh I coveted Pāthrī, his ancestral home, situated in the kingdom of Berār, but bordering on Ahmadnagar and, in lieu of it, he offered another place to 'Imād Shāh "yielding even a greater revenue,"^{96a} but the latter rejected the proposal and fortified it, whereupon the former made a sudden attack and took it (1518).⁹⁷

Alā-ud-dīn contracted a matrimonial alliance with Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān by marrying his sister Khadīja and also concluded a friendly alliance with Golconda. With a combined army of these States, he recovered Pāthrī, but within a short time, Burhān again took it (1527).

The third cause of conflict between Berār and Ahmadnagar was over the possession of Māhūr. Burhān strengthened his position by an alliance with Bīdar and invaded Berār. He took possession of Māhūr, and then proceeded as far as Ellichpur, its capital. At this critical juncture, Alā-ud-dīn sought the aid of Muhammad I, the ruler of Khāndesh, but this also did not improve his position, as both of them sustained a serious defeat, with the loss of all their camp equipage and three hundred elephants. Many places of Berār were occupied by the allied armies of Ahmadnagar and Bīdar. The two vanquished Sultāns then sought the assistance of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, who, finding it a suitable opportunity for extending his power in the south, responded to their appeal, and proceeded to the Deccan (1528). Alarmed at this Burhān requested Bijāpur, Golconda and Bīdar for help, and both Bijāpur and Bīdar responded to his appeal and sent him necessary assistance. Bahādur, who moved against Ahmadnagar, was defeated twice, but the allied army could not cope with him when further reinforcements joined the Gujarāt army. Both Burhān and Amir Barīd were compelled to fall back on Parenda and thence to Junnar, and began to harass the enemy by night attacks and cutting off their supplies. Bahādur occupied the city of Ahmadnagar and, entrusting the siege of the fort to Alā-ud-dīn, moved to Daulatābād. Burhān's position became critical and he had no alternative but to sue for peace. On the other hand, Bahādur's policy of aggrandizement in the Deccan had caused grave concern to his allies who no longer wanted to act in concert with him. On his side, the latter, too, was anxious for his own safety lest he should be cut off from his country in the ensuing monsoon. Cessation of war thus became the prime consideration of both the parties and a peace was therefore effected. Burhān caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of Bahādur and returned the elephants seized from Muhammad I during the war but did not fulfil his promise in respect of restoration of Māhūr and Pāthrī to Berār.⁹⁸

Alā-ud-dīn died in 1530 and was succeeded by his eldest son Daryā 'Imād Shāh.

Daryā 'Imād Shāh (1530-62)

During the reign of Daryā 'Imād Shāh the kingdom enjoyed peace and tranquillity. In the wars between Bijāpur and Ahmad-

nagar, he sided once with Bijāpur but helped Ahmadnagar on three occasions, once in 1543 and twice during the reign of Husain Nizām Shāh I.

After his death in 1562 his infant son Burhān succeeded him to the throne.

Burhān 'Imād Shāh and Tufāl Khān

Burhān 'Imād Shāh's minister, Tufāl Khān, a man of high ambition and of extraordinary courage, became regent. He confined the king in the fort of Narnāla and seized the reins of government in his own hands.

As he had reasonable cause of resentment against Husain Nizām Shāh I for the cruel murder of Jahāngīr Khān, he not only held aloof from the confederacy formed by the four Deccani Muslim powers against Vijayanagara, but also carried on depredations in the Nizām Shāhī kingdom. 'Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh were highly incensed at these and they invaded Berār. It was impossible for Tufāl to fight against such heavy odds and he managed to purchase peace from 'Ādil Shāh in secret on payment of a heavy sum of money and fifty elephants (1566). Finding himself deserted by 'Ādil Shāh, Nizām Shāh also retired.

Although Tufāl saved himself from this crisis, other serious dangers awaited him. A treaty was concluded between Murtazā I and 'Ali Adil Shāh I, defining their sphere of aggrandizement. The former was allowed to annex Berār and Bidar, and the latter to "conquer as much of the Carnatic as would produce a revenue equal to Berār and Bidar."^{98a} Then followed their activities. As a pretext for invasion of Berār, Tufāl was asked to re-instate his sovereign in his position, but when this was not complied with, Murtazā I invaded Berār. Unable to check his advance, Tufāl allowed Ellichpur to be occupied by his enemies and fled from place to place. Leaving Berār, he tried in vain to take shelter in Khāndesh and ultimately took refuge with Burhān 'Imād Shāh in the hill-fort of Narnāla, while his son went to Gawilgarh.

Due to its natural position, the fort of Narnāla was favourable for defence, and here Tufāl repulsed the attacks of his enemies with great valour, but was troubled by paucity of provisions. On the other hand, Murtazā, too, got tired of the protracted siege, and unable to occupy the fort by arms, he took the golden means of seducing the garrison. This produced its desired effect. Finding it impossible to defend any longer, Tufāl fled into the neighbouring hills but was soon captured. Thus fell Narnāla (April, 1574), and shortly

after this, Tufāl's son surrendered Gawilgarh. Burhān 'Imād Shāh along with the usurper Tufāl Khān and his son Shamshir-ul-Mulk were taken to Ahmadnagar and confined in a fortress where all of them subsequently died. It is said that their death was caused either by the Sultān's order or cruel treatment in the prison.

Thus disappeared Berār as an independent State from the map of the Deccan.

V. THE BARID-SHAHĪ DYNASTY OF BIDAR

Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, who reigned from 1842 to 1518, was unfit to hold the sceptre during that troublesome period. He could not cope with the situation, and disorder and confusion increased on all sides. The real power passed into the hands of Qāsim Barid, his prime minister, who had risen to that high position by dint of his extraordinary abilities. Originally, he was a Turk, domiciled in Georgia. He came to the Bahmani kingdom in his early boyhood and then entered the service of Muhammad Shāh III. By and by, he rose to positions of distinction till he became prime minister, exercising regal power, in fact, though not in name.

Qāsim Barid died in 1504, and was succeeded as prime minister by his son Amīr Barid, who, too, like his father, wielded uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Mahmūd Shāh died in 1518, and was succeeded by four sultāns, one after another, but all of them were mere tools in the hands of Amīr Barid. Kalimullāh, the last of them, tried in vain to regain his power with the help of Bābur. At last, he fled to Bijāpur and thence to Ahmadnagar; he breathed his last in 1538, but with his flight from Bidar in 1528 Amīr Barid became practically independent, although he never formally asserted his independence nor assumed the title of "Shāh".

Amīr Barid was very cunning, and hence he was known as *Robah-i-Deccan* or the *Fox of the Deccan*.⁹⁹ He knew well how to play one party against the other, but such cunning brought him disgrace also and he had to suffer humiliation at the hands of Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān against whom he had plotted. Apart from political differences, the two had religious differences as well; Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān was a Shiah, whereas Amīr Barid was a bigoted Sunnī. The former was highly incensed when, in 1529, it was reported to him that Amīr Barid had attempted to incite a part of his soldiery against him, and observed, "it was contrary to wisdom to treat the wolf with gentleness, or the snake with kindness."¹⁰⁰ At his request, when Burhān Nizām Shāh promised to remain neutral, Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān started against Amīr Barid. The fort of Bidar was besieged, and Amīr

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On the death of 'Ali Barid his son Ibrāhīm Barid Shāh ascended the throne and reigned till 1587. He was succeeded by his younger brother Qāsim Barid Shāh II. After the battle of Rākshasi-Tangadi, the strength of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda increased so much that it was not possible for a small kingdom like Bidar to cope with them and naturally it gradually dwindled in extent. Qāsim Barid II died in 1591 and was succeeded by his infant son, but one of his relatives named Amīr Barid dethroned him and became king under the title of Amīr Barid II. After a reign of about ten years he, too, was expelled by one of his relatives—Mirzā 'Alī Barid (1601). He reigned till 1609 and was succeeded by Amīr Barid Shāh III, the last Sultān of Bidar. He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda, organized by Malik 'Ambar and fought with them against the Mughuls (1616).

As his relation with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II was far from cordial, the latter invaded Bidar, and after defeating him, annexed it to Bijāpur (1619). He and his sons were brought to Bijāpur and kept "under surveillance."^{101b}

VI. THE QUTB-SHAHĪ DYNASTY OF GOLCONDA

Sultān Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk,¹⁰² who laid the foundation of a separate dynasty of rulers in Golconda, belonged to a Turki family and was born at Hamadan in Persia. He came to the Deccan in his youth during the reign of the Bahmani Sultān, Muhammad Shāh III, and started his career as a body-guard of this monarch. By his extraordinary courage, skill, and sagacity, he rose from one position to another till he became the Governor of Telingāna, the eastern province of the Bahmani kingdom. He had also received the lofty title of Qutb-ul-Mulk.¹⁰³

When the weakness of the Bahmani government encouraged different provincial governors to become autonomous within their jurisdictions, Sultān Quli also took advantage of the situation and assumed a similar position on the death of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmani in 1518. He never assumed the title of "Shāh" or the royal dignity. Neither the assertion of Firishta that he declared independence in 1512 nor the view of some modern historians that he severed his connection with the Bahmani kingdom and became independent in 1518 is tenable. The decipherment of the inscription of the Jāmi 'Masjid at Golconda, built by Sultān Quli, commemoration tablet of which bears the date 924 A.H. or A.D. 1518, proves that the ruling monarch was then Mahmud Shāh Bahmani and not Sultān Quli, but it does not go to prove in any way that he asserted his independence some-

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time that year on the demise of that monarch. On the contrary, available evidences show that he never assumed the royal title.¹⁰⁴

During the long period of his rule, he devoted most of his energies in extending the frontiers of his kingdom. On the north, he took possession of the district of Haft Tappa from Berār, and, on the south, he conquered various places one after another including Rajconda, Devarconda, Ganpura, Kovelaconda, and Pangal.

He tried his utmost to bring as much of the Telugu-speaking country as possible in his possession and continued his campaigns one after another. He defeated Shitāb Khān (i.e., Sitāpati) of Bhogikula and captured Bellamconda, Indraconda, Kambhammet and Warangal, etc., and it was not possible for Shitāb Khān to check his advance, as the power of Shitāb's ally, Gajapati Pratāparudra, the king of Orissa, on whom he depended, had been greatly weakened by his recent discomfiture at the hands of Krishnadevarāya of Vijayanagara. Sultān Quli then occupied Kondapalli, Ellore, and Rajahmundry belonging to the Gajapati, and compelled him, by a treaty, to give up his territories between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Next, he laid siege to the fortress of Kondavidu belonging to Vijayanagara, but here he ultimately sustained a serious defeat.

Sultān Quli had troubles with Bijāpur and Bidar whose rulers made a joint effort to take the fortress of Kovelaconda, but their plan was upset by the sudden death of Ismā'il 'Adil Khān (1534). Sultān Quli retaliated on Bidar by carrying on depredations in it and besieging Kohir. It was at last agreed that this fortress should be ceded to him.

Sultān Quli lived till the age of ninety-eight when he was assassinated at the instigation of his second surviving son Jamshid (September, 1543).¹⁰⁵

Sultān Quli was not only a skilful general and a strategist, but also an efficient ruler who established law and order in his country. He was a great builder as well. The Golconda fort was, to a large extent, built by him and the city was beautified with mosques, palaces and gardens. Jāmi 'Masjid, a very beautiful structure, outside the fort, was erected by him.

He was a devout and God-fearing man and belonged to the Shiah creed which was established as the State religion.

Jamshid Qutb Khān (1543-1550)

Sultān Quli was succeeded by his son Jamshid, who caused his elder brother Qutb-ud-din to be blinded and plotted to seize his

younger brother Ibrāhīm, who, coming to know of his brother's intention, fled to Bidar for protection and assistance. He was cordially received by 'Alī Barīd Shāh who championed his cause and proceeded with the Prince against Jamshid. They marched triumphantly to the very gates of the fort of Golconda which was besieged. At this juncture, Jamshid sought the assistance of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, who immediately sent an army to Golconda. Unable to oppose these combined forces, 'Alī Barīd retreated towards Bijāpur, but on the way, as he attempted to seize the properties of Ibrāhīm, the latter left him and retired to Vijayanagara where he was cordially received and given a *jāgīr*. He remained there for seven years.

Jamshid possessed great tact and foresight, and was an astute diplomat. When he came to the throne, it was Burhān I only who offered his congratulation by sending his envoy Shāh Tahir, and there was practically no Deccani power whom he could count as his ally, but he soon changed his position. As has been related in the history of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, he became a party to the quadruple alliance (1543) and joined Ahmadnagar against Bijāpur. But it was in 1548 that he gained a very advantageous position and raised the prestige of Golconda above all other Deccani kingdoms. Both Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar were then in earnest to win his support, and 'Alī Barīd, who had been imprisoned by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I, also made entreaties to him to secure his release. The position of Jamshid was thus almost similar to that of an arbiter in the Deccan. He then exhibited his greatest tact and diplomacy. Instead of incurring the displeasure of any party, he maintained his neutrality, and, at the same time, won over 'Alī Barīd by securing his release and placing him back on his throne.

After these, he returned to his capital, but was attacked with cancer and, after suffering for about two years, died in 1550.

His minor son, Subhān Qulī, was then raised to the throne but he had soon to make room for his uncle Ibrāhīm, who came from Vijayanagara, deposed him, and ascended the throne.

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (1550-1580)

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh received the support of all sections of the people and established law and order in the kingdom. As has been mentioned above, he was the first Sultān of the Qutb-Shāhi dynasty to assume the title of "Shāh".

His inter-state relationship, including the part he played in connection with the battle of Talikota, has been described at length in the history of Ahmadnagar.

Continuing the policy of Sultān Quli, he carried on conquests in the Telugu-speaking areas, and invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The famous temple of Narasimha at Ahobalam was sacked by his commander, Murhari Rāo, a Marāthā Brāhmaṇ (1579), who also invaded Udayagiri, Vinukonda and Kondavīdu. There is no doubt that as a result of these invasions Ibrāhīm gained possession of considerable territories from Vijayanagara.¹⁰⁶

The Sultān also devoted much time and energy for the consolidation of his kingdom. All rebellions and lawlessness were suppressed with a stern hand. Telengāna was full of highway robbers and thieves, and travelling was fraught with great risks, but it was to his credit that he cleared the roads from the oppression of these marauders.

Jagdeva Rāo Naikwari, the prime minister, made a conspiracy to depose him and place his brother Daulat Quli on the throne. The Sultān executed one of the accomplices of Jagdeva, who, being afraid of his own safety, fled to Berār, but there, too, when his manners became overbearing, he was ordered to quit immediately, and, this he did, but came back to the Qutb Shāhī territory. Being defeated here, he finally left for Vijayanagara.

There was a revolt of the Naikwaris under the leadership of Suria Rāo, the commandant of the Naikwaris in the fort of Golconda, but this rising was suppressed with a strong hand and Suria Rāo and other Naikwaris of this fort were executed.

Not only did Ibrāhīm establish peace and security in his kingdom but also made it prosperous. Trade and commerce increased enormously. "Telengāna, like Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Toorkistan, Arabia and Persia, resorted to it; and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently."¹⁰⁷

Ibrāhīm was a great patron of art and architecture and erected several beautiful buildings. The fortifications of Golconda were extended and strengthened, and the city was beautified with gardens, hammams, wide streets, and shops of various kinds. He established alms-house (or the *Lungur*), numerous colleges, one dam at Budwal and two tanks, one at Ibrahimpattam and the other called Husain Sāgar. He constructed also a strong bridge, 600 feet long and 36 feet wide, on the Musi, originally called Narva, known later

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on as "Purana Pul" or "old bridge". It was supported by twenty-two pointed arches.¹⁰⁸

This reign saw the beginning of Dakhani Urdu poetry at Golconda, and four poets viz., Mulla Khiyali, Mahmūd, Firūz and Ahmad composed their poems in this language.

Of all his actions, Ibrāhīm is remembered by the Hindus of Telingāna specially for his patronage of Telugu literature. Many Telugu poets like Addanki Gangādhar Kavi, Pannaganti Teleganarya, and Kandukuri Rudra Kavi flourished in his court. Addanki Gangādhar Kavi, the most well-known of them, composed an elegant poem *Tapatisama-Varanamu Upakhyanamu* and dedicated it to the Sultān, who is called *Malkibharam* in Telugu literature. Among other things it gives accounts of the conquests of Sultān Qulī and those of Ibrāhīm in the Telugu areas. The poet says that many learned men well-versed in Hindu scriptures adorned the court of this Sultān. He was very liberal in his rewards to the Telugu poets and tried his best to encourage them. Amīr Khān, a Qutb Shāhī officer of high rank, was also a patron of Telugu literature.

Though Ibrāhīm took a prominent part in bringing about the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, his treatments of his Hindu subjects, specially his patronage of their literature and their appointment to high posts, show that he tried to gain the goodwill and sympathy of the bulk of his population—the most essential requisites of a stable government.¹⁰⁹

He died in 1580 at the age of fifty and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh.

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1612)

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh inherited a peaceful and prosperous kingdom, which enjoyed peace and happiness during his reign.

In 1586, an alliance was formed with Bijāpur by the marriage of the Sultān's sister, Malikā Zamān, with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, and thus, an attempt was made to establish a feeling of cordiality between the two kingdoms.

As the walled city of Golconda became congested and unhealthy, and there was scarcity of water in it, shifting of the capital appeared to be a necessity, and in 1590, the plan for the construction of the new capital at Hyderabad, on the river Musi, was ready for execution. Muhammad Qulī tried his utmost to make the city as grand as possible. It was embellished with fine palaces, gardens,

and baths, and proper arrangements were made for supply of water in all its parts. Two stately edifices, viz., the *Jāmi'* Mosque and the majestic *Chahar Minār* or 'four minarets'—“a square building of four broad and very lofty open arches, with four minarets 220 feet high at each corner” were built in the centre of the city, adding to the grandeur and beauty of the capital. Besides, hospitals and colleges were also established for the benefit of the people.¹¹⁰

Venkata II, the king of Vijayanagara, tried to recover the Konḍavidu areas, but Muhammad Qulī proceeded with a big army and defeated him. The Sultān occupied Kurnool, Nandial, Gandikota and Cuddapa and laid siege to Penukonda. Venkata II was forced to sue for peace, and although there was a temporary respite, the war was soon renewed. Muhammad Qulī again laid siege to Penukonda, but scarcity of provisions in his camp and apprehension of inundation of the Krishna due to approach of the monsoon which would cut off his retreat, compelled him to raise the siege and retire to his capital, after making necessary arrangements for protection and administration of the newly conquered areas. But Venkata II soon started the offensive and laid siege to Gandikota, which, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Qutb Shāhī forces, could not be saved. Although the Vijayanagara army recovered some other forts also, the Konḍavidu areas remained in possession of the Sultān of Goleonda, but Qutb Shāh was forced to recognize the Krishna as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

During the reign of this Sultān, Shāh Abbās, the Safavī King of Persia (1587-1629) sent Aghuzlu Sultān, one of his relatives, in 1603, on an embassy to Muhammad Qulī, with valuable presents of jewels, carpets and horses etc.. and on his arrival at Golconda, the ambassador was accorded a grand reception. He stayed at Hyderabad for six years and then returned to Persia with suitable presents for the Shāh. The principal object of the embassy, as has been related, was to put the proposal of marriage of one of the sons of the Shāh with Hayat Baksh Begam, the Sultān's daughter, but the mission was not successful.^{110a}

In 1609, a conspiracy was made to dethrone Muhammad Qulī and place his brother Muhammad Khudābanda on the throne, but the Sultān seized the ringleaders before they could create any mischief. They, along with Khudābanda, were imprisoned in the fort of Golconda where the Prince died in 1611.

In this year, the English East India company established a factory at Masulipatam, an important port in the Qutb Shāhī kingdom.

As Pratāp Shāh, the Rājā of Bastār, revolted, the Sultān sent an army against him. Being defeated, the Rājā fled to an impregnable fortress in the forest, and in spite of reinforcements, the Qutb Shāhī army could not force him to surrender, and a sudden heavy rainfall, spoiling a great part of the gunpowder, and want of provisions, compelled them to retreat. It was with great difficulty that they returned to Golconda.

The Sultān died in 1612, after an illness of two days only. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh has left to posterity a great name for town-planning and architecture. The foundation of Hyderabad and construction of fine buildings, gardens and baths etc., with which his new capital was embellished, show his excellent taste as a builder, and he spent a big amount every year for the construction of public buildings. Of the palaces erected by him, special mention may be made of Chandan Mahal, Hirā Mahal and Nadi Mahal.

He was a man of charitable disposition and a lover of justice. A sum of sixty thousand *huns* or two lakhs and forty thousand rupees was distributed to the poor every year.

"Intelligent and learned,....and of literary bent of mind, Muhammad Qulī kept company with the learned."^{110b} He established several *khankas* and *madrasas* at Hyderabad and gave rewards liberally to distinguished literary men. "It is related, that out of four lacs of *huns* secured as revenue collection from the city, a large and a greater portion was disbursed in rewarding the Saiyids and Ulemas and supplying them with two free meals per day."¹¹¹

Muhammad Qutb Shāh (1612-1626)

As Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh left no son, his nephew Muhammad Qutb Shāh, son of Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn, succeeded him to the throne. He was also the son-in-law of the late Sultān, whose daughter Hayat Baksh Begam he had married.

He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers against the Mughuls and tried to put a stop to Mughul aggression in the south. Although prior to the battle of Bhatvadi, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II joined the Mughuls with a view to strengthening his position against 'Ambar, Muhammad Qutb Shāh did not forget the interests of the Deccan, and fully aware of the strength of the Mughuls and the Bijāpuris, he formed a defensive and offensive alliance with 'Ambar. He remained firm to Ahmadnagar and fought on its side in the battle of Bhatvadi (1624).

But he was more inclined towards the pen than the sword. He had received proper education in his young age and was fond of the association of the learned. He was well acquainted with various arts and sciences and could write both in prose and verse. Among his writings were *ghazl*, *tarkib band* and *rubaiya*; "his pen name was Zil-ul-lah (the shadow of God)".¹¹² It was in the fifth year of his reign that the *Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, the well-known history of the Sultāns of Golconda, was completed.

To add to the beauty and grandeur of the capital city, he erected buildings and laid out gardens.

He died in 1626, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, at the age of twelve.

'Abdullah Qutb Shāh (1626-1672)

During 'Abdullah's long reign of forty-six years, the kingdom had to face serious problems, but he was quite incapable of wielding the sceptre at such a critical time. He was indolent, and sensual,^{112a} and the administration was practically run by his mother Hayat Baksh Begam till her death in February, 1667, and then by Sayyid Ahmad, his ('Abdullah's) eldest son-in-law. "The clever diplomacy of these two had for half a century saved the Qutb Shāhī State from being annexed by the Mughuls."^{112b}

After his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān, who was well-acquainted with the Deccan politics, made up his mind to press forward his policy of annexation there. The first victim was Ahmadnagar which was incorporated in his empire in 1633. Next, he turned towards Golconda, and 'Abdullah, in terror, accepted the terms dictated by the Mughul Emperor. He acknowledged the Mughul suzerainty and agreed to pay an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees (1636).

Thus barred in the north, Golconda engaged in a career of aggrandizement in the Carnatic and the conditions there were very favourable. Shorn of all its past glory and strength, the kingdom of Vijayanagara was confined to a small area. 'Abdullah sent an army against it in April, 1642, and captured some of its territories, Venkata III, the reigning king, having fled to the forests. Golconda made repeated attacks on the tottering Hindu kingdom, and, in this work, Mīr Jumla, the prime minister of 'Abdullah, played an important role.

Muhammad Sayyid, who is known as Mīr Jumla, came to Golconda as an adventurer from Ardistān in Persia. He was a man of

wonderful talents, and, making the best use of his opportunities, he made his mark as a diamond merchant and rose to power and wealth. His extraordinary abilities attracted the attention of 'Abdullah who made him his *Wazir*. He proved his efficiency both in civil and military administrations and wielded great influence in the kingdom, but it was in the Carnatic that he showed his real mettle by his military exploits which enhanced the territories of Golconda and made him fabulously rich. Both the Sultāns of Golconda and Bijāpur were active in devouring the dilapidated kingdom of Vijayanagara. Mīr Jumla wrested parts of Nellore and Cuddapa and occupied the territories on the eastern coast up to Pulicat. He penetrated further south and proceeded as far as Vellore, where he met Mustafā Khān, the 'Adil Shāhī general, and arrived at a settlement with Bijāpur, defining their respective spheres of aggrandizement in the Carnatic.

By plundering Hindu temples and searching out hidden treasures, Mīr Jumla accumulated a vast fortune, and according to Thevenot,^{112c} he had twenty maunds of diamonds in his possession. His *jāgīr* in Carnatic was like a kingdom, three hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth, with an annual revenue of forty *lakhs* of rupees, and it contained several valuable diamond mines. He had under his command 5,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, and an excellent park of artillery. He was almost like an independent ruler and absented himself from the court of Golconda. Alarmed at the growing power of the *Wazir*, the Sultān attempted to bring him under his control, but Mīr Jumla entered into intrigues with Bijāpur and Persia.

Aurangzīb, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan and eager to conquer Golconda, wanted to win him over to his side with a view to utilizing his services in the projected invasion. The wealth of Golconda, prevalence of Shiahism among its inhabitants, frequent arrears in payment of its annual tribute, and above all, the imperialistic policy urged Aurangzīb to pursue an offensive action. He opened negotiations with Mīr Jumla, when an incident furnished the cause of immediate military operations, so desired. Muhammad Amīn, son of Mīr Jumla, who had been his father's deputy at the court of Golconda, was arrested and imprisoned with his family for his insolent behaviour to the Sultān (1655).

Aurangzīb utilized the situation to his advantage and obtained orders from his father directing 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh to release Mīr Jumla's family, and in case of his non-compliance, to invade Golconda. Without allowing a reasonable time to Qutb Shāh, Aurangzīb sent his eldest son Muhammad Sultān against him (1656). All

efforts of the Sultān to prevent hostility was nullified by him, as he was bent upon crushing this kingdom.¹¹³ Hyderabad was attacked and occupied, and the Mughul soldiery plundered it. Aurangzib himself arrived there and besieged the fort of Golconda where the Sultān had retired.

But Golconda was saved this time by the intervention of Dārā Shukoh and Jahānārā whom 'Abdullah's agent at Delhi convinced of Aurangzib's most unjust and unwarranted attack on it. On receipt of his father's direction, Aurangzib was compelled to raise the siege (1656). The Sultān of Golconda promised to pay a considerable war indemnity, and arrears of tribute which amounted to one crore of rupees, and surrender the district of Rāmgir (modern Manikdurg and Chinoor). He had also to give his second daughter in marriage to Muhammad Sultān and promise in secret to make him his heir. Mīr Jumla, who had already joined the imperialists, was appointed prime minister.

After this, the affairs in the Qutb Shāhi State went from bad to worse. 'Abdullah, who had narrowly escaped death at the hands of his enemies in 1656, was so frightened that he never afterwards appeared in public even to administer justice, and spent his time in frivolous sensuality, the natural consequences of which were misrule and confusion in the kingdom. Even his own family was not free from discord and unrest.^{113a} Amidst these, he breathed his last in 1672.

Abu-'l Hasan Qutb Shāh (1672-1687)

'Abdullah had no male issue but three daughters only, the eldest of whom had been married to Sayyid Ahmad, who became prime minister and virtual ruler of the kingdom; the second daughter was married to Muhammad Sultān, and the third to Abu'l Hasan, who, on his father's side, was a descendant of the Qutb Shāhi family. On the death of 'Abdullah, there was a contest between the first and third sons-in-law for the throne in which Sayyid Ahmad was defeated and imprisoned, and Abu'l Hasan elevated to the throne.¹¹⁴

Sayyid Muzaffar, a leading general, who had taken the most important role in the overthrow of Sayyid Ahmad, became prime minister, but he concentrated all power in his own hands, and the king became a nominal figure-head. Abu'l Hasan could not long reconcile himself to this lot, and with the help of Mādanna, "the Brahman factotum of Muzaffar," he deprived the latter of the premiership. Mādanna was raised to his master's place and conferred the title of Sūrya Prakāsh Rāo, while his brother Akkanna was appointed

commander-in-chief. But the Sultān did not gain by this change of premiership and the power exercised by Muzaffar passed into the hands of Mādanna. The king led a dissipated life and disorders and oppressions were rampant. "With a grasping and suspicious paramount Power, a sensual king, a venal aristocracy, and an ignorant and timid people, the reform of the kingdom was hopeless,"¹¹⁵ and its fate was sealed.

Aurangzīb's long-cherished desire of annexing Golconda had not yet been fulfilled, and he therefore turned towards giving effect to his ambition. Grounds for invasion were not wanting. The Sultān was leading a dissolute life, leaving the administration of the kingdom in the hands of the infidels, Mādanna and his brother Akkanna. "In 1677 he had given Shivājī a more than royal welcome on his visit to Hyderabad and promised him a regular subsidy of one *lakh* of *huns* for the defence of Golconda. After Shivājī's death the alliance had been renewed with his successor and the subsidy continued."¹¹⁶ On his part Shivājī consented to pay to Qutb Shāh an annual tribute of six *lakhs* of *huns*. Such "fraternizing with infidels" was the worst offence of Abu-'l Hasan.¹¹⁷ In 1685 he had also acted against the Mughuls by sending military assistance to Bijāpur against them, and lastly, the war indemnity promised in 1656 and the annual tribute of eight *lakhs* of rupees, according to the terms of the treaty in 1636, were long in arrears.

Open rupture occurred as a result of interception of a letter of Abu-'l Hasan to his agent in which he had accused the emperor of attacking Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh and promised to send an army of 40,000 men to his assistance. Enraged at this, Aurangzīb sent his son Shāh 'Alam against Hyderabad (1685) and although, at the outset, he could not make much headway, the seduction and consequent defection of Mir Muhammad Ibrāhim, the commander-in-chief of Golconda, largely decided the fate of the campaign. The resistance fell through and the Mughuls proceeded to Hyderabad. No defence of the city was organized and the Sultān fled to the fortress of Golconda. The Mughul army occupied Hyderabad and carried on extensive plunder there.¹¹⁸ Placed in such a critical position, Abu-'l Hasan made repeated entreaties for peace, which was at last concluded but did not last long.

One of the conditions of the peace was that Mādanna and Akkanna should be dismissed, but the Sultān having put off the matter, the discontented Muslim nobles and two widows of the late king formed a plot and caused their assassination in the streets of Golconda (March, 1686).¹¹⁹

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

After the fall of Bijāpur in September, 1686, Aurangzīb was free to concentrate his attention on the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, and, in February, 1687, he reached the outskirts of the fort of Golconda. In the meantime, Abu-'l Hasan had again taken shelter in this fort and the Mughuls took possession of Hyderabad for the third time. The regular siege of Golconda lasted for seven months and a half. The fort had sufficient stocks of food and ammunition to stand a long siege, and the garrison fought with great valour and successfully resisted all efforts of Aurangzīb to capture it. Despite sufferings due to heavy rains, famine, pestilence and incessant attacks of the enemies, he tried all possible means with grim determination to paralyze the defence, but they proved futile. At last, gold wrought wonders¹²⁰ and 'Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardār Khān, a high officer of the fort, was seduced. He treacherously opened the postern gate of the fort, thus allowing the enemies to enter into it and overpower the defenders.

By way of contrast to this traitor shines forth an instance of undaunted heroism and noble self-sacrifice, rare in the annals of any country; 'Abd-ur Razzāq Lārī, surnamed Mustafā Khān, a devoted and faithful noble, spurned all tempting offers of Aurangzīb and fought valiantly till he was seriously wounded.

Thus was Golconda captured by Aurangzīb (1687) and Abu-'l Hasan made a captive. The latter was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Daulatābād for the rest of his life on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and the kingdom annexed to the Mughul Empire.

APPENDIX I

(By the Editor)

Notes on the chronology adopted in this Chapter

The dates of some of the rulers given in this Chapter differ from those mentioned in the *Cambridge History of India (CHI)*, Vol. III, pp. 704 and 708, as shown in the following list. The justification of the dates adopted in this Chapter, in each case, is indicated below.

Serial No.	Name of the ruler	Date in CHI	Date in this Chapter
I.	Murtazā Nizām Shāh I	1565—1586	1565—1588
II.	Murtazā Nizām Shāh II	1603—1630	1600—1630
III.	Mallu 'Adil Shāh	1534—1534	1534—1535
IV.	Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I	1534—1558	1535—1557
V.	Muhammad 'Adil Shāh	1627—1657	1627—1656
VI.	'Alā-ud-din 'Imād Shāh	1504—1529	1504—1530

I. The date given in CHI. III, p. 461, of the ruler's death is 1588, and this agrees with the date of Firishta.

II. According to *CHI.* III, the fall of Ahmadnagar and the accession of Murtazā both took place in A.D. 1603. The date 1600 for the fall of Ahmadnagar is supported by *Akbar-nāma* (Translation of Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 1159 footnote). On p. 148 of *CHI.* IV it is clearly stated that Murtazā was on the throne in January, 1602.

III. It is stated in *CHI.* III, p. 439, that Mallū was deposed in March, 1535, and this agrees with Firishta's account.

IV. The date 1557 is supported by Firishta (Cf. Briggs, III. 112).

V. The date of the death of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar as November, 1656 (*Aurangzib*, IV, 2nd Edition, p. 155).

VI. In *CHI.* III, p. 708 the date of the death of Alā-ud-dīn is given as A.H. 937 and it is equated with A.D. 1529. But the A.H. 937 really corresponds to the period 25 August, 1530, to 14 August, 1531.

APPENDIX II

(By the Editor)

The causes of the Grand Alliance of the Muslim States in the Deccan against Vijayanagara which destroyed that empire require a little more elaboration. According to Firishta, Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh of Golconda sent an envoy named Mustafā Khān to Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to induce him to join the confederacy. The arguments advanced by the envoy may be summed up as follows in the words of Firishta: The ruler of Vijayanagara, "who had reduced all the rajas of the Carnatic to his yoke, required to be checked and his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam in order that their people might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels."²¹ This implies that apart from the obvious and the generally accepted view that the object of the confederacy was merely political, namely to destroy a powerful Hindu ruler in the neighbourhood, the sacrilege of Muslim holy places by the troops of Vijayanagara was another cause. Prof. H. K. Sherwani probably voiced the opinion of many when he disbelieved the statement of Firishta and observed: "It is hardly thinkable that with the 'Adil Shāh as an ally and colleague there should have been desecration of mosques."²² But it is somewhat curious that in the same article Sherwani gives a different opinion later. Describing the second invasion of Ahmadnagar he writes: "It is related that the army of Vijayanagara, led by Ramraj, again perpetrated every possible atrocity on the people, laid waste the countryside and did not spare even mosques. Naturally, it was not to the liking of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh that crimes committed on the occasion of the first invasion of Ahmadnagar should be repeated and this time he had allied with Ramraj on the express condition that mosques and other sacred edifices should not be desecrated." In his support Sherwani states in f.n. 26, p. 263: "Fer. II, 127, Briggs,

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

III, 224, Basatin, 89, is quite explicit that it was 'against the understanding with 'Adil Shāh that Ramraj's army caused such depredations to mosques and Qurāns' during his attacks on Ahmadnagar. This must have been one of the potent causes of the eventual alliances of the Deccani Sultans against Vijayanagara."¹²³

It is evident from the above that during the first invasion of Ahmadnagar the Vijayanagara troops had desecrated mosques and Qurāns, otherwise such an understanding would be entirely uncalled for.

Sherwani is, however, even more explicit while stating the immediate causes of the Battle of Talikota. On p. 360 (*JIH*, XXXV) he writes: "No state had suffered more than Ahmadnagar at the hands of the armies of the Southern Empire, for they polluted the mosques and dishonoured women and put to fire and sword everything and every person who came in their way.... Ramraj's men who had committed great outrages at Ahmadnagar, and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing....their worship in every mosque." Though Sherwani does not give any reference, the last passage is from Firishta (Briggs, III, p. 122), and there is a similar account on the preceding page. It is evident, therefore, that though Sherwani dismisses Firishta's account as exaggeration on p. 259, he accepts the same on p. 361 (*JIH*, XXXV).

The historian is thus faced with two intriguing questions:

- (1) Did the troops of Vijayanagara desecrate the mosques?
- (2) If so, can this be regarded as a 'potent cause' of the Muslim confederacy against Vijayanagara?

As regards the first, all that can be said is that though we have no conclusive evidence to support it, it is not unlikely that the Hindu troops did retaliate, on occasions, against the systematic sacrilege of the Hindu temples and images of gods by Muslim troops and even kings.

As regards the second, the answer must be in the negative, for it is unreasonable to look for a hypothetical cause when we have obvious explanations for the rivalry between Hindu and Muslim rulers. The view that the sacrilege of the Hindu troops of Vijayanagara was the reason for the deliberate destruction of the city of Vijayanagara by the Muslim rulers after their victory, is hardly worth serious consideration and cannot be accepted as justification or even excuse for acts of unparalleled vandalism of the Muslims, particularly as the alleged grievance is not yet definitely proved.

1. H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 394.

1a. For references see below footnote No. 104

2. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, Its History and Monuments*, p. 13.

Briggs III, 497; the date of the death of Amir Barid given here is wrong but the date in p. 92 (Briggs III) is correct.

3. *Zafar-ul-Walih*, 170, quoted by H. K. Sherwani in his article "Independence of Bahmani Governors" *PIHC*, 1945, p. 161.

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- 3a. Ibid., 161.
- 4 *Mausir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 526.
- 5 *Basatin-us-Salatin*, 272.
- 6 Haig. *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, 18, 101.
7. Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 2.
- 8 "Foreword" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in J. N. Chowdhuri's *Malik Ambar*.
- 9 *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II, 93, Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, pp. 5-6.
10. *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, II, 93.
- 11 Briggs *Firishta*, III, 206.
- 12 Ibid., 207-209.
13. Ibid., 214.
- 13a. For details see below section on Berar.
- 14 Briggs III, 52, 216.
- 14a. Ibid., pp. 52, 216-7. The complaint made by Ismā'il about the treatment he received at Ahmadnagar might have served as an additional cause of friction between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.
- 14b Cf. Chapter XIII, section on Gujarāt.
- 15 Briggs, III, 71.
- 16 Sherwani, *Telingana under Ibrahim Qutb Shah*, JIH, XXXV, p 42.
- 17 *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah*, 113-115 Briggs, III, 382-84.
- 18 Briggs III, 387.
- 19 Ibid., 387.
- 20 Ibid., 387-388.
- 21 Ibid., 238.
- 22 Ibid., 397.
- 23 Ibid., 118.
- 23a For a different version, see Sherwani, JIH, XXXV, p 260 (Ed.)
- 24 Parénda is situated about seventy-five miles south east of Ahmadnagar.
25. Ausa is situated about one hundred and thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar
- 26 Briggs, III, 241.
- 27 Ibid., 408-409. Sherwani, JIH, XXXV, p 265
- 28 Briggs, III, 125.
- 29 Briggs, III, 123-125.
- 30 Ibid., 126.
- 31 JIH, XXXV, 374-375.
- 32 Purchas His Pilgrims, X, 93 K A N Sastri, *A History of South India* (2nd edition), 284; Briggs, III, 130 footnote.
- 33 Briggs, III, 130.
- 34 Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 206-208 The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Souza says. "The Muhammadans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagara ... In his share of the plunder, 'Adil Shāh got a diamond, as large as an ordinary egg and another of extraordinary size, though smaller, together with other jewels of inestimable value" *Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque*, Hakluyt Society, II, pp CXII, CXIII.
- 34a. For details see below p. 451.
- 35 Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, 8-9.
- 36 Briggs, III, 257-259.
37. Ibid., 269.
- 37a. Some confusion may be caused by the fact that Briggs in one place mentions the lady as Khadija (III 161) but in another place (III. 278) names her as Chānd Bibī. Khadija became a widow only a short time ago and it is more likely that Ibrāhim wanted her back in Bijāpur. This view is also taken in CHI. III, p. 461.
- 38 Ibid., 284.
- 39 Ibid., 287.
- 39a. The name is written as Ahang Khān in CHI III, p 464 with a footnote that it is also written as Abhang Khān. But the latter form is found in the *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* (Sarkar's copy, pp 511, 573) and the *Futuhat-i-'Adil Shāhi* (pp. 267a, 268a), both written in the first half of the seventeenth century A D.
40. The *Burhān-i-Mādsir* says that Bijāpur sent thirty thousand cavalry and Qūfb Shāh ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to Ahmadnagar. *Burhān-i-Mādsir*, Sarkar's MSS Vol III, 1475. These figures appear to be an exaggeration.
- 41 *Mādsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 479-481; *Tārikh-i-Firishta* II, 158-162; *Burhān-i-Mādsir*, Sarkar's MSS., III, 1475, 1492 Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, III, 1028, 1045-1048, 1050
- 41a. Briggs, III, 306-309, CHI, III, 465.

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- 41b. *Akbarnāma* of Shaikh Faizi Sirhindī, Elliot VI, 144. *Akbarnāma* of Abu'l-Fazl tr. by H. Beveridge, p. 1159
42. *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, II, 482, 484-495, 497-499. Beveridge, *Akbarnama*, III, 1114, 1128-1129, 1132, 1142-1144, 1157-1159. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, II, 162-164.
43. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, Sarkar's MSS. 571-572, *Futūhat-i-Ādil Shahi*, 267a-267b (Sarkar's copy); *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* III, 7
44. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, II, 165.
45. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 23-25; *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 576-577. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, II, 164, *Futuhat-i-Ādil Shahi*, 269b, 270a (Sarkar's copy)
46. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, II, 165; Beveridge, *Akburnama*, III, 1212, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, III, 7-8; *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 574.
47. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, 270; *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, II, 166.
48. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 576-578.
49. *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, II, 511.
50. *Futūhat-i-Ādil Shahi*, 271a, translated by Sarkar
51. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 52-53, *Futūhat-i-Ādil Shahi*, 271a. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, 263-264.
52. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 578-581, *Futūhat-i-Ādil Shahi*, 271a, 271b. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, 263-265, 267.
53. *Iqbalnāma*, 44-45, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pers. text (Syed Ahmad's edition) 85-86, 88, tr. (R and B, Vol. I), 178-179, 183, William Finch in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, 39. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 58
54. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pers. text 107-108, tr. (R and B, Vol. I) 219-21, *Iqbalnāma*, 65-66, *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, II, 520. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, 271-272
55. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 70, *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, II, 527. Later on, Khurki was named Aurangabād, according to the name of Aurangzib
56. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pers. text 153-154, tr. (Vol. I) 312-14, *Iqbalnāma*, 84-87, *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, II, 523-531.
- 56a. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. Vol. I, 338
57. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pers. text 188, tr. (Vol. I) 380, *Iqbalnāma*, 100, Khafi Khan I, 291.
58. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pers. text 305, 321-322, 330-331 tr. (R and B, Vol. II) 155-157, 188-90, 206-8, *Iqbalnāma*, 175-176, 181-182, English, *Factories in India* (1618-1621), 207, 210-211, 217-218, 231, 240, 243, 249, 257, 259, 287, 296--for di location of trade.
59. *Futūhat-i-Ādil Shahi*, 287a, tr. by Sarkar.
60. *Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Printed in Syed Ahmad's edition) 386, 391, *Iqbalnāma* 224, 234
- 60a. Chowdhuri, Malik Ahbar, p. 116
61. *Futuhat-i-Ādil-Shahi*, 289a, 289b, 290b, 291a, 291b, *Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 391-392; *Iqbalnāma*, 234-237. *Dilkusha*, Sarkar's MSS. 90-92
62. *Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 392-393, *Iqbalnāma*, 237-238
63. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 163.
64. *Ahmadnagar Gazetteer*, 395; 423-424.
65. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 578; *Futūhat-i-Ādil-Shahi*, 268a, 270b
- 65a. For details of the fall of Ahmadnagar, see above, pp. 207-8
66. Briggs, III, 4-8.
- 66a. See above, Vol. VI, pp. 304-05.
67. Briggs, III, 22-29.
68. P. M. Joshi. *Relations between the Adil-Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the 16th century*. NIA, II, (1939-40), 363
69. Ibid., 363; Briggs, III, 29-30, CHI III, p. 434
70. Briggs, III, 30-31.
71. Ibid., 46-47.
72. Ibid., 47-48 CHI III, 434-435
- 72a. For details see above, Vol. VI, pp. 314-16 and Ch XV
73. K. A. N. Sastri. *A History of South India*, 276. For details, see Ch XV.
74. For details, see Ch XV.
75. NIA, II, 364-365.
76. CHI, III, 443-444. See above section on Ahmadnagar, p. 421
- 76a. See above, pp. 424 ff.
77. Briggs, III, 135, 254-255.
- 77a. See Ch XV.
78. Bijapur by H. Cousens, 17, 60. Architecture at Bijapur by M. Taylor and J. Fergusson, 32.

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79. Briggs, III, 144-148.
80. Ibid., 146-148.
81. Ibid., 171-173.
- 81a. See above pp. 430ff.
- 81b. See above pp. 437ff.
82. Meadows Taylor: *A student's Manual of the History of India* (4th Edition), (1879), pp. 304-305.
83. Ibid., 305.
84. Briggs, III, 169-170.
- 84a. For details, see above, chapter on Shāh Jahān.
- 84b. Khafi Khan I, 531-534, 537. Sarkar: *Aurangzib*, I, 32-4.
85. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib* I, 253-254 (1912 edition).
- 85a. *Further sources of Vijayanagara History* (K. A. N. Shastri) p. 341.
86. K. D. Swaminathan, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 73-74; *Proceedings of Indian History Records Commission*, XVI 50-51. (For other campaigns of Randaula based on Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie*, II, See the chapter on Vijayanagara.—Editor).
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90. Ibid., 155; *Basātin-us-Salātin*, 346-348.
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93. *Alamgirnāma*, 988-1021; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV, 118-144.
94. K. K. Basu, *Some court poets of Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur* (Summary) PIHC (1943), p. 379.
95. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV, 158.
- 95a. Ibid., 181.
- 95b. *Mādsir-i-Alamgiri*, tr by Sarkar, p. 169.
- 95c. Ibid., 171; *Dilkasha*; 202-203; *Basātin-us-Salātin*, 540.
96. Briggs, III, 485-486; CHI., III, 398.
97. Briggs, III, 214-215. CHI., III, 435.
98. Briggs, III, 217-221; CHI., III, 436.
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99. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, 13. For Amīr Barīd's activities, see above pp. 466-7.
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- 100a. Ibid., 80.
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- 101b. *Basātin-us-Salātin*, 272-273; G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, p. 14.
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- 110b. K. K. Basu, "A chapter from Golconda History", *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXVIII, pt. II, 179.
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- 112c. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, edited by S. N. Sen (Published by the National Archives of India, 1949), p. 144.
- 113. For details see chapters on Shâh Jahân.
- 113a. Bernier, 194-195; Tavernier, I, 158.
- 114. Khafi Khan, II, 309-313.
- 115. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV, 400.
- 116. Ibid., 401.
- 117. Ibid., 402; *Maâsir-i-Alamgîrî*, tr. by Sarkar, 175.
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THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

Vol. VI

THE
DELHI SULTANATE

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BOMBAY

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

CHAPTER XII

THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGARA

N. Venkataramanya

1. THE FOUNDATION.

Reference has been made above to the growing Hindu resistance against Muslim aggression in Deccan and South India during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq,¹ and of his policy of subduing it by appointing, as governors, renegade Hindus who once held positions of authority in those regions. The policy, as we have seen, failed in Warangal, but succeeded in Kampili. The two fugitive brothers from Warangal, Harihara and Bukka, who became ministers in the old Hindu kingdom of Kampili but were taken captive by Muhammad Tughluq and embraced Islām, were entrusted by the Sultān to restore the Muslim authority in that region. In spite of reverses and failures at the beginning, they ultimately succeeded in their task as has been mentioned above. Their subsequent conduct, however, belied the expectations of Muhammad Tughluq, and in view of the obscurity surrounding it and the important consequences which followed, the whole matter requires a somewhat detailed consideration. All the relevant facts are not known with absolute certainty and widely different views have consequently been held on the subject; but the following appears to be the most reasonable reconstruction of the chain of events leading to the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

The victories of Kāpaya Nāyaka and Ballāla III and the liberation of the Andhra and Draviḍa countries appear to have affected the province of Kampili profoundly. The spirit of independence must also have stirred the minds of the people there, and made them restive under the rule of their Muslim governor. Harihara and Bukka, who must have followed closely the course of the war of independence, realized that it was impossible for them, under the changed circumstances, to maintain the authority of the Sultān in the province. They had, however, no desire to follow the example of Malik Maqbūl, the governor of Tiling; nor did they consider it wise to declare their independence and set up a Muslim dynasty at Kampili. Hemmed in on three sides by the two powerful Hindu kingdoms of Karnāṭaka and Andhra, and with no prospect of getting any help from Delhi, the chances of establishing an independent Muslim State on the banks of the Tungabhadrā were remote. They decided, therefore, to throw in their lot with their Hindu subjects.

Islām, which they were compelled to embrace, sat lightly on them, and they still cherished fondness for the faith of their fathers. Under the influence of sage Vidyāranya, whom they accepted as their guide both in temporal and spiritual matters, they came to believe that it was their duty to renounce Islām and champion the cause of the ancient Hindu *dharma*. Their path was not free from obstacles. The Hindu society was chary in re-admitting within its fold those who were forced to embrace Islām. Moreover, they were treated with suspicion on account of their connection with the Musulmāns. They, however, got over these difficulties with the help of Vidyāranya, who arranged for their reconversion to Hindu religion. He convinced Vidyātīrtha, his own *guru* and the chief pontiff of the Advaita-maṭha at Śringerī, that the reconversion of his disciples was necessary for saving the Hindu *dharma*, and secured his approval. Harihara and Bukka were then taken back to Hinduism; and to mitigate any suspicion that might still lurk in the minds of the people, it was declared that Harihara was not ruling the kingdom in his own right but as a vicegerent of the god Virūpāksha to whom it actually belonged. To lend colour to this declaration, Harihara was persuaded to adopt the name of the god Śrī Virūpāksha as his sign manual with which he had to sign all the state documents. Harihara was crowned in A.D. 1336 as the king of the new kingdom of Hampi-Hastināvatī; and to commemorate the event he laid the foundations of his new capital, Vijayanagara, on the same day.^{1a}

2. HARIHARA I (A.D. 1336-1356).

At the time when Harihara I, son of Saṅgama, declared his independence and celebrated his coronation, he was the master of a kingdom extending from Nellore in the south-east to Dharwar and Bādāmi in the northern Karṇāṭaka. His position, however, was not yet secure, as he was surrounded by powerful neighbours who were not well disposed towards him. His kingdom marched in the north-east and the north along the frontiers of the nascent Andhra confederacy which Kāpaya Nāyaka, after his final victory over the army of the Sultān of Delhi, was attempting to convert into a kingdom. Though Kāpaya had no grievance against Harihara, he was an ally of Ballāla III, recently discomfited by Harihara on the battlefield. Moreover, Prolaya Vema, an important member of the confederacy, who was driven out of the lower Pennar valley, his ancestral home, by Harihara and his brothers, was not certainly friendly to them. The struggle between the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and the Reddis of Addanki and Konḍavīdu, which was terminated by the absorption

of the territories of the latter by the former, seems to have commenced already. In the north-east, on the further bank of the Krishnā, lay the territory, which still remained under the authority of the Sultān of Delhi. Qutlugh Khān, the governor of Devagiri, who was entrusted with the administration of this province, was an able officer; he was naturally expected to make an effort, as soon as possible, to recover the lost Deccan possessions of the Sultān. More dangerous than Qutlugh Khān was Ballāla III, the king of Karnāṭaka, whose territories bounded Harihara's kingdom on the west and south. Ballāla was not a friend of Harihara; he cast greedy eyes on this small State on the Tuṅgabhadrā, the conquest of which had been one of his long-cherished ambitions. He led several unsuccessful attempts to subjugate it in the days of Kampilideva but could make no headway against that doughty warrior. The revolt of the Andhras against Muhammad bin Tughluq, and the consequent dissolution of his empire in the south gave him another chance; but the astute statesmanship of Vidyāranya not only frustrated his attempt, but revived under a new dynasty the old kingdom of Kampili. However, he did not give up his designs. His preoccupations with the affairs of the Tamil country and his entanglements with the Sultān of Madurā left him no time to make a fresh effort to overthrow Harihara, but he was expected to renew his attempt the moment he settled with the Sultān of Madurā. Harihara's first task was to consolidate his position, and organize his kingdom for effective defence. It was an age when the security of a kingdom depended on the strength of its forts. Anegondi, his capital, was, no doubt, perched on the top of a hill in a mountainous tract on the northern bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā; but it was not impregnable. It fell easily into the hands of the enemy twice within a decade; it was captured by Muhammad bin Tughluq in A.D. 1327, and by the Chālukya chief Somadeva some four or five years later. Harihara wanted to shift his capital to a place much more inaccessible to an enemy, where he could take refuge in times of danger. Acting upon a suggestion of Vidyāranya, he selected the opposite bank of the river in the neighbourhood of the temple of Virūpāksha, surrounded by the Hemakūta, the Mataṅga, and Mālayavanta hills. He laid the foundations of the new capital which he called Vijaya- or Vidyānagara, on the auspicious occasion on which he celebrated his coronation. The hills were linked together by strong walls of Cyclopean masonry and a deep ditch surrounded them. According to one of the *Kālajñānas*, it took full seven years to complete the construction. Harihara shifted to his new capital, when it was ready for occupation, and administered the kingdom from his palace on the Hemakūta hill.

Vijayanagara was not the only fortress built by Harihara. To safeguard the kingdom from any possible attack by the armies of the Delhi Sultān from Devagiri, he strengthened the fortifications of the old Chālukyan capital Bādāmi, and posted there a strong garrison under a capable officer. He also made the famous fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district the headquarters of his eastern province, and entrusted its administration to his younger brother Kampana.^{1b} He appointed his second younger brother, Bukka, his *Yuvarāja* and co-regent and placed him in charge of the fortress of Gooty in the Anantapur district to keep a watchful eye on the activities of Ballāla III and protect the western frontier. Having completed his arrangements for the defence of the realm, Harihara next turned his attention to internal administration. Two important measures adopted by him to increase the resources of his dominions and improve the character of local administration deserve special notice. He encouraged the farmers to cut down the forest and bring fresh land under cultivation by leasing it to them on easy terms. He divided the country into *sthala*s, *nāḍus*, and *sīmas* and created a hierarchy of officials to collect the revenue and carry on the local administration. These measures increased the income of the State and improved the character of local government.

The reign of Harihara I marks the beginning of a great era of conquest and territorial expansion. The small kingdom which at the beginning comprised a few Telugu and Kannada districts had grown considerably in size and was fast developing into an empire during the last years of his reign. This was due mainly to the conquest of the Hoysala kingdom which seems to have commenced after A.D. 1338 during the last years of Ballāla III. A few border incidents between the forces of Bukka and Ballapa Dañḍanāyaka, the chief minister and commander-in-chief of Ballāla III, soon developed into a general conflict which seems to have gone from the first against the Hoysalas. Some time after A.D. 1340, Bukka wrested from Ballāla the important fortress of Penugonḍa in the Anantapur district to which he shifted his headquarters from Gooty. This was a valuable acquisition, as it served him later as a convenient base of operations against the Hoysala kingdom. The success of Bukka was not due to the weakness of the Hoysala military force. Ballāla III was, as stated already, preoccupied with the affairs of the Tamil country. Not satisfied with the liberation of Tonḍaimandalam and the establishment of Sambuvarāya on the throne of Kāñchī, he set out on an expedition to conquer the entire south and bring it under his hegemony. This naturally involved him in a conflict with the Sultān of Madurā (Ma'bar), and all his attention was absorbed in prosecuting war against him. Ballāla, therefore,

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was not able to take effective steps to check the aggressions of Vijayanagara, and as a consequence lost some territory along his eastern frontier. What might have happened, had Ballāla succeeded in his enterprise against Madurā it is not possible to surmise. The course of events in the south, however, took an unexpected turn, quite favourable to Vijayanagara, by the sudden disappearance of the enemy who was blocking her path of expansion. Though Ballāla was successful at first in his war against the Sultān of Madurā, disaster fell upon him towards the close of A.D. 1342. The Sultān of Madurā, under the cover of a truce which Ballāla granted him, suddenly made a treacherous attack on his camp, destroyed his army, and having taken him prisoner murdered him after extorting from him all his wealth.^{1c}

This disaster sounded the death-knell of the Hoysala monarchy. Though Virūpāksha Ballāla or Ballāla IV, the son of Ballāla III, was crowned king in June, 1343, he was utterly helpless and had no power to maintain his authority. The flower of the Hoysala army was annihilated in the campaign of Ma'bar; his treasury was emptied in the vain hope of purchasing the liberty of his father; and many of the nobles including the commander-in-chief, Ballappa Dañḍanāyaka, deserted him like rats in a sinking ship and joined the king of Vijayanagara. Therefore, when he was attacked by the armies of Vijayanagara, he was unable to offer any effective resistance, and was obliged to abandon his kingdom and seek safety in flight within three months after his coronation.^{1d} The flight of Ballāla IV was not, however, followed by the immediate submission of the Hoysala dominions to Vijayanagara. Though abandoned by their king and some of the leading nobles, local chieftains in various parts of the kingdom stoutly opposed the invaders; and it was not until A.D. 1346 that Bukka could reduce them to subjection. The conquest of the Hoysala kingdom was the most notable military achievement in the reign of Harihara I. There was great jubilation in Vijayanagara. To commemorate the victory, a grand festival under the aegis of Vidyātīrtha was celebrated at Śringerī in 1346, which was attended not only by Harihara and his brothers but also by all the chief generals and noblemen of his court.

The conquest of the Hoysala kingdom seems to have involved Harihara I in war with two of his neighbours. The Kadambas who were ruling the small kingdom of Banavāsi on the coast of Konkan, incurred his displeasure, probably on account of the shelter which they offered to Ballāla IV in their territory. Mārapa, one of Harihara's younger brothers, set out from Kalasa in the Kadur district in A.D. 1347, and having defeated the Kadamba king and annexed his territories, established himself at Chandragutti in the Shimoga

district. More important than this was the expedition against the Sultān of Madurā. The circumstances under which Harihara had to send an army against Madurā are not quite clear. It is, however, certain that he embarked on this expedition to rescue the Sambuvarāya who seems to have been defeated and taken prisoner by the Sultān. Two armies were despatched simultaneously in A.D. 1352-3 against the Sultān, one from Udayagiri in the east coast under Prince Sāvaṇṇa, son of Kampa I, and another from Mulbagal in the Kolar district under Kumāra Kampana, son of Bukka I, with instructions to unite on the frontiers of Madurā and compel the Sultān to set the Sambuvarāya at liberty. The Vijayanagara generals successfully accomplished the task with which they were entrusted. The Sultān of Madurā was defeated and taken prisoner and the Sambuvarāya was freed from captivity and re-established upon his throne.

Though the victory of Vijayanagara was complete and the road to Madurā was open and undefended, the Sultanate was perhaps saved from destruction by the activities of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangū or Bahman Shāh, the ruler of the newly founded Bahmani kingdom, who was hostile to Vijayanagara from the beginning. The Bahmani Sultān, himself a rebel against Delhi, appears to have claimed some sort of suzerainty over Vijayanagara. His claim was rejected with scorn and as a consequence the relations between the two kingdoms were always strained. As mentioned above, Firishta credits Bahman Shāh with some conquests in the Karnātak, though he does not refer to any conflict between him and the king of Vijayanagara. Bahman Shāh's success, probably over some local chiefs, must have been a source of anxiety to Vijayanagara. It seems that Harihara I had to give up for the time being his designs over the Sultanate of Madurā and devote his attention exclusively to the defence of his northern frontier.

The latest known date of Harihara is A.D. 1356.² As he is not mentioned in the records of the subsequent years, he probably died in the course of the same year. Harihara's reign was a period of great political activity. Though he did not directly participate in the wars, he took keen interest in organizing the defence of the realm. He was a great administrator; and with the help of his trusted minister, Anantarasa Chikka Udaiya, he laid the foundations of a strong and stable system of civil administration which, with few modifications, lasted until the very last days of the empire.

3. BUKKA I (A.D. 1356-1377)

Harihara I died without issue; and Bukka I succeeded him as the sole sovereign of the kingdom. The first step which he took

after assuming control of the State was to unify the kingdom and strengthen his position. Harihara I had entrusted the administration of some of the outlying provinces to his younger brothers, who, though they acknowledged his supremacy, regarded themselves as virtual masters of the territories under their control. Kampana I, the governor of Udayagiri, died about A.D. 1355, and on his death, his two sons, Sāvanṇa and Saṅgama II, divided the province between themselves, as if it were their family property. Mārapa, who conquered in A.D. 1347 Male-nādu and Banavāsi, became its first governor, and most probably he was succeeded by his sons, Sovanṇa and Hariappa. Though the arrangement was working satisfactorily at the time, Bukka I realized that it contained the seeds of disintegration which would, in course of time, lead to the disruption of the kingdom and defeat the purpose for which it was founded. To check the power of his nephews, and bring them more effectively under the control of the central government, Bukka appointed his own sons as the governors of the provinces and made them responsible for the maintenance of the royal authority. Bhāskara Bhavādūra was made the governor of Udayagiri, Kumāra Kampana of Mulbāgal and Paḍaivīḍu, Virūpanṇa at first of Penugonda and later of Āraga, and Chikka-Kampana, Mallapa, and Harihara (II) of the Hoysala-rājya.

The affairs of the Tamil country soon engaged Bukka I's attention. Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya, whom Harihara I had restored to the throne in A.D. 1353, ruled the country undisturbed until A.D. 1359-60. Either because he had asserted his independence or for some other reasons not known, Bukka sent a military expedition against Rājanārāyaṇa who was not able to hold his own. Rājanārāyaṇa died in the early stages of the war; Venrumāṇkondān II, his son and successor, held out for some time, but was ultimately killed in A.D. 1360. With the death of Venrumāṇkondān, the shortlived kingdom of the Sambuvarāyas came to an end and Vijayanagara became the mistress of the Tamil country extending as far south as the southern Pennār and the Kollaḍam rivers.

Shortly after this Bukka was involved in a war with the Bahmanis. On the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangū (A.D. 1358), his son, Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī I, ascended the throne. His position, on the throne, however, was not quite secure. Dangers threatened him on every side. Some of his nobles were disaffected towards him, and were ready to make trouble for him. Bukka I and the king of Telingāna, with whom he seems to have entered into an alliance, sent Muhammad Shāh an ultimatum threatening war in case he failed to satisfy their demands. The former claimed

that the forts of Raichur and Mudgal with their dependent territory extending as far as the river Krishnā should be returned to him. The latter similarly demanded that the fort of Kaulas with the dependent territory which 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan had unjustly wrested from him should be restored to him. Muhammad Shāh, after temporizing for a time, declared war on the Hindu kings. Bukka I immediately despatched twenty thousand men to support his ally, and invaded the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-doāb with a large force.

The account of the war given by Firishta is inaccurate and one-sided. According to him, Muhammad Shāh I defeated Bukka I on every battlefield, chased him from place to place, and when at last Bukka crept back into his capital, the Bahmanī Sultān lured him out of his stronghold and, having crushed him in a battle, dictated to him the terms of peace which he had no option but to accept. Though some of the facts mentioned by Firishta might be true, the Vijayanagara army did not fare so badly in the war as he would have us believe. They contended with the Bahmanīs on equal terms, and struck blow for blow. In the end, the Bahmanī Sultān had to sign a treaty which left Bukka I master of the whole of the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-doāb excepting some *mahals* on the southern bank of the Krishnā which were to be governed jointly by the two monarchs.³ The terms of this treaty, to which Firishta himself alludes indirectly, clearly show that the war ended practically in a victory for Vijayanagara. As the war had commenced on account of the refusal of Muhammad Shāh I to recognize the river Krishnā as the boundary between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī kingdoms, and as the river Krishnā, according to the terms of the treaty, was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms, though a few *mahals* on the southern bank of the river were subjected to the joint authority of the two governments, it is obvious that Bukka I got the better of his rival.

The Bahmanī war came to an end in A.D. 1365. Shortly after this Bukka I was engaged in a war with Koṇḍavīdu. Very little is known about the causes and incidents of this war with the Reddi kingdom. Prolaya Vema, the founder of the kingdom, died in A.D. 1355 and his successor Anapota or Vīra-Anapota was defeated by Bukka. The Reddis lost Ahobalam and Vinukonḍa with their dependent territories which were permanently annexed to the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

When the affairs of the northern and eastern frontiers were thus settled to his satisfaction, Bukka I turned his attention to the south. The overthrow of the Sambuvarāyas and the annexation of

Tonḍaimaṇḍalam had brought Vijayanagara directly into contact with the Sultanate of Madurā. A clash between the two kingdoms was inevitable; and the miserable plight to which the Hindus were reduced by the Muslim rulers of Ma'bar loudly called for intervention. Most of the Hindu shrines were destroyed; good many of them were converted into mosques. The people were killed by hundreds and thousands; their properties were confiscated; religious practices were forbidden; cows were butchered; and terror reigned supreme. Bukka, as the head of a Hindu State which was founded specially to protect the Hindu society and re-establish the Hindu *dharma*, could not remain indifferent, and launched an attack some time about A.D. 1370. He entrusted the supreme command of his army to his son, Kumāra Kampana, who had been governing the Tamil districts of the kingdom as his viceroy since the overthrow of the Sambuvarāya in A.D. 1360-61.

The army set out about the beginning of A.D. 1370 from Gingee in the South Arcot district and inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces of Madurā at Samayavaram near Śrīraṅgam. Kannanur-Kuppam, the chief stronghold of the Musulmāns in this region, fell into the hands of the invaders who, after having restored god Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam and Hoysaleśvara at Kannanur-Kuppam to their respective shrines, marched against Madurā. A severe engagement took place somewhere between Trichinopoly and Madurā in which the Sultān was defeated and killed. The death of the Sultān, however, did not put an end to the war. Some of his followers appear to have shut themselves in the capital and declined to submit. Kumāra Kampana laid siege to Madurā, and took it by storm. Thus ended the Sultanate of Madurā after a brief but bloody existence of nearly forty years during which the Hindus of the country were subjected to inhuman tyranny.^{3a}

With the conquest of Madurā, the whole of South India, extending up to Setubandha Rāmeśvaram, came under the sway of Vijayanagara, and it thus rapidly grew up into an empire. The conquered territory, together with the remaining parts of the Tamil country, was placed under Kumāra Kampana who proved as great an administrator as he was a soldier. Unfortunately, however, he died prematurely, about the beginning of A.D. 1374, plunging the kingdom in grief. His death brought the question of succession to the forefront. Bukka I had several sons who distinguished themselves on the field of battle as well as in the civil administration of the kingdom, but he chose as heir-apparent and successor, Harihara II, his son by queen Gaurāmbikā, a prince who took little or no part in the affairs of the kingdom until the time of his selection. The rea-

sons which prompted Bukka to nominate Harihara as his crown prince, ignoring the claims of his more distinguished sons and grandsons, are not quite apparent.

Bukka I did not long survive his son Kampana and died in A.D. 1377. He was one of the greatest monarchs of the age, and was the real architect of the Vijayanagara empire. He was a great soldier and achieved conspicuous success on the field of battle, specially against the Muslims. In an age marked by religious bigotry and fanaticism, special reference must be made to the policy of tolerance adopted by Bukka I in dealing with the religious sects in his kingdom. Taking advantage of the dispute between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas, he issued an edict, copies of which were set up in important centres, proclaiming that from the standpoint of the State, all religions were equal and entitled to protection and patronage. The policy of religious concord, indicated in this edict, was followed by all his successors. All religious communities of the kingdom including the Jews, Christians and Muslims, looked upon the Rāya as the guardian of their religious rights and privileges.

Bukka I took an active interest in the revival of the Vedic *dharma*. He assumed the title of *Vedamārga-pratishṭhāpaka* or the establisher of the path of the Vedas, and gathered together all the scholars learned in the Vedic literature. Having placed them under his *kula-guru*, Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya and his famous brother Sāyanāchārya, he commanded them to compose fresh commentaries and expound the meaning of the Vedas and the allied religious texts. He also encouraged Telugu literature and was a patron of Nachana Soma, the greatest Telugu poet of the age.

4. HARIHARA II (A.D. 1377-1404)

Bukka I died about the beginning of February, 1377, and Harihara II immediately ascended the throne. His authority, however, does not seem to have been acknowledged in all parts of the kingdom at once. There were insurrections in Konkan and other provinces. A wide-spread rebellion broke out in the Tamil country, in which the chiefs of Tuṇḍīra, Chola and Pāṇḍya countries were involved. It is not unlikely that the sons and some of the officers of Kumāra Kampana, who were dissatisfied with the late king's arrangements about succession, should have made a common cause with the rebels. Harihara II, however, succeeded in putting down the rebellions and enforcing his authority. His son, Virūpāksha or Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar, whom he appointed as the viceroy of the Tamil country, put down the rebels with a stern hand and brought the Tamil country back to subjection by the middle of A.D. 1377.⁴ It

was probably on this occasion that Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar crossed over to the island of Ceylon and exacted tribute from its ruler.

A greater danger than the internal disturbances threatened the stability of Harihara's position on the throne. The Bahmanī Sultān invaded his kingdom in large force. Muhammad Shāh I died in 1375, and was succeeded by his youthful and warlike son, Mujāhid Shāh. He sent an envoy to the court of the Rāya demanding the abrogation of the treaty of A.D. 1365, and the recognition of the Tungabhadrā as the southern boundary of his dominions. Harihara II naturally turned down this demand, and Mujāhid invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom by way of reply in the spring of A.D. 1377.

Firishta has given an elaborate account of this war, but most of the incidents described by him are not noticed by other Muslim historians; and even in places where they refer to them, their narrative differs from his in important respects. According to Firishta, the Rāya of Vijayanagara, whom, by the way, he calls Krishṇa Rāya, massed his troops on the bank of the Tungabhadrā, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Adoni, but took to flight at the approach of the Sultān's army. Mujāhid thereupon laid siege to Vijayanagara, and though he achieved some measure of success at first, he was obliged ultimately to raise the siege. On his way back he besieged Adoni, an important fort, guarding the road from Gulbarga, for nine months. His attempts to capture the fort, however, ended in failure, and while returning to his capital, having achieved nothing in the war, he was assassinated in his tent (A.D. 1378). Of the three important events of this war described by Firishta, the first two, namely, the flight of the Rāya and pursuit by Mujāhid, and the siege, by the latter, of the city of Vijayanagara, are not mentioned by other Muslim historians. Though the flight of the Rāya and pursuit by the Sultān may be dismissed as exaggerated, there is nothing improbable in his attempt to besiege Vijayanagara. The invasion, even taking Firishta's account at its face value, must be regarded as an inglorious failure. The war, however, did not come to an end with the defeat of Mujāhid Shāh at Adoni and his retreat towards his kingdom. It had an interesting sequel which is not noticed either by the Muslim historians or modern scholars who have dealt with the subject. The defeat of the Bahmanī army at Adoni and the subsequent assassination of the Sultān on his way home presented a great opportunity to Harihara II for retaliation. The Bahmanī kingdom was defenceless and there were dissensions in the royal family. Harihara II took full advantage of the situation and invaded Konkan and Northern Karnāṭaka at the head of a large army. Though the details of the campaign are not definitely known, two or three incidents stand

out clearly. Mādhava *mantrin*, who was in charge of the Banavāsi country, defeated the Turushkas, captured the port of Goa and reduced the seven Konkanas to subjection (A.D. 1380). The Turushkas, from whom Mādhava *mantrin* wrested Goa and the neighbouring territories, must have been the officers of the Bahmanī Sultān.⁵ It must have been during the campaign in which Mādhava *mantrin* reduced the *sapta-Koṅkaṇas* that the important ports of Chaul and Dabhol on the coast of Northern Konkan were acquired by Harihara; and the possession of these ports, besides Goa, must have made him master of the entire west coast of the Deccan.⁶

Harihara II, now firmly established on his throne, next sought to make himself the lord of the east coast so that he might establish his control over the eastern as well as the western sea. The idea of the conquest of the east coast was not new. Bukka I, it may be remembered, attacked the Reddi kingdom of Koṇḍavīdu which blocked the expansion of Vijayanagara towards the sea, and seized some out-lying districts of Koṇḍavīdu between A.D. 1365 and 1370. The appointment of Devarāya as the governor of Udayagiri in A.D. 1370, however, marks a new epoch in the relations between Vijayanagara and Koṇḍavīdu. He resolved from the first to annex the Reddi territories and pursued his object with unwavering zeal. The internal dissensions in the kingdom of Koṇḍavīdu, on the death of king Anavema in A.D. 1382-3, gave him an excellent opportunity to attack the Reddi dominions, and he occupied at once the Addanki and the Śrīsailam districts adjoining the Vijayanagara frontier. The occupation of the Reddi territories, especially the district of Śrīsailam which abutted on the kingdom of Rāchakonḍa, brought in its train another war with the Velamas and their ally the Bahmanī Sultān.

After the death of Anapotā Reddi of Koṇḍavīdu, the Velamas had seized Śrīsailam and the neighbouring territory. Their king, Anapotā Nayādu I, is even credited with having built steps to the Śrīsailam hill. Anavema Reddi, the younger brother and successor of Anapotā Reddi, dislodged the Velamas from Śrīsailam and reconquered the lost territory. After the death of Anavema, the Velamas naturally desired to re-establish themselves in this region; but the prompt action of Devarāya baulked them of their prey. The Velama ruler Anapotā Nayādu I appealed to his ally, the Bahmani king Muhammad Shāh II, for help and prepared himself for war. To counteract the warlike activities of Anapotā Nayādu, Harihara II despatched an army under the command of his son Immadi Bukka, against the Velamas. The army penetrated as far as Warangal, and defeated the Muslim cavalry at Kottakonḍa, a fort to the north-west of Warangal.

The Velama king did not, however, give up the hope of conquering Śrīsailam. With the help of the Bahmanī Sultān Muhammad Shāh II, in A.D. 1390-91, he attacked 'Udayagiri-rājya', that is the province governed by Devarāya. The last-named made a counter-move by invading the Bahmanī kingdom. The Bahmanī forces accompanied by the Velamas seem to have made an attack upon Udayagiri, but Rāmachandra Udaiya, the son of Devarāya, whom he left in charge of his capital and province, is said to have subjugated hostile kings and vanquished by his skill the Musulmān king.⁷ Though the final result of the war is not known, the Velamas did not achieve their object and the Bahmanī Sultān won no victories which the Muslim historians could boast of.

The conflict was renewed seven years later (A.D. 1398), when Harihara II planned another attack on the Velamas and their ally the Bahmanis. He evidently took advantage of the confusion following the usurpation of the Bahmanī throne by Firūz Shāh to invade that kingdom, and captured the fort of Sagar. According to Firishta, Firūz not only recaptured the fort, but crossed the Krishnā, looted the camp of his enemy, besieged Vijayanagara, laid waste the surrounding territory, and compelled Harihara II to buy peace by payment of a large sum of money. Though according to the terms of the treaty, the boundaries of both the kingdoms remained as they were, Firūz is said to have directed Fūlād Khān to assume the government of the Raichur *doāb*, which, as shown above, belonged to Vijayanagara. Other Muslim authorities do not refer to the invasion of the *doāb* or the siege of Vijayanagara. They all, however, ignore the part played by the Velama allies of the Sultān, as well as the reverses sustained by him. The Muslim accounts of the sweeping victories of Firūz Shāh are contradicted by Hindu sources, both literary and epigraphic. An inscription at Pangal, in the Nalgonda district of the old Hyderabad State, clearly proves that an expedition sent by Harihara II against the Velamas defeated them as well as their Bahmanī ally near that place, almost at the very time when, according to Firishta, Firūz was dictating a most humiliating peace treaty to his enemy. This treaty, however, practically recognized the *status quo*. On the whole, the fact seems to be that in spite of some initial successes gained by Firūz, he was ultimately forced to retreat and lost some territory to the north of the *doāb*.

The last years of the reign of Harihara II were peaceful, undisturbed by foreign invasions or internal troubles. He fell ill in the latter part of A.D. 1403 and died on August 16, 1404, having ruled for a period of twenty-eight years. During his reign of nearly

three decades, the kingdom extended in all directions, and assumed the proportions of a mighty empire. His conquest of the west and east coasts made him the master of many ports through which flowed the wealth of Europe and Asia into his dominions. In the internal administration of the kingdom, he followed in the footsteps of his father. Though he entrusted the government of some of the provinces such as Mangalore, Barakur, and Goa on the west coast to his nobles, he appointed only his sons as governors of the important provinces in the interior and the east coast. As already noted above, Virūpāksha succeeded his uncle Kumāra Kampana as the viceroy of the Tamil country. Immaḍi Bukka, the heir-apparent, became the governor of Āraga and Hoysala regions, and Devarāya I, the most capable of Harihara's sons, assumed the government of Udayagiri, the premier province of the empire. Though this arrangement worked efficiently in the lifetime of Harihara, it fostered disintegrating tendencies which led immediately after his death to the outbreak of the first civil war in the Vijayanagara history.

On the death of Harihara II, the succession to the throne was disputed. His three sons Virūpāksha I, Bukka II, and Devarāya I laid claim to the throne, and attempted to take forcible possession of it. Though the struggle for succession lasted for two years, much is not known about the course of events during the period. Virūpāksha I appears to have crowned himself immediately after the death of his father, but his rule came to an end after one year. He was probably overthrown by Bukka II who proclaimed himself king. He, in his turn, yielded place to Devarāya I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1406 and ruled for sixteen years until his death in A.D. 1422.

5. DEVARĀYA I (A.D. 1406-1422)

Devarāya I, who emerged victorious from the war of succession, ascended the Diamond Throne, and celebrated his coronation on November 7, 1406. His reign was a period of incessant military activity, and during the sixteen years of his reign he was, more or less, continuously engaged in waging war with the Bahmanī Sultāns, the Velamas of Rāchakonḍa and the Reddis of Konḍavīdu. In spite of the powerful forces arrayed against him, he not only held his own but succeeded in increasing the extent of his kingdom by the annexation of fresh territories.

Immediately after Devarāya's accession his kingdom was invaded by Firūz. Besides the Velamas, the traditional allies of his family, the Sultān secured also the friendship of Peda Komati Vema, the Reddi king of Konḍavīdu. Apart from the frequent encroachment by Vijayanagara on the Reddi territory, Peda Komati Vema

resented the family and political alliance into which Harihara II entered with his rival Kāṭaya Vema who had usurped the government of Rājahmundry. The Sultān invaded the *doāb* with the main body of his army, while his Velama and Reddi allies, supported by a strong contingent of his troops, attacked the Rāya in the eastern provinces of his kingdom. Devarāya massed most of his forces in the *doāb* to check the advance of the Sultān, and left the eastern provinces comparatively weakly defended.

According to Firishta, Firūz Shāh marched unopposed to Vijayanagara, and made an unsuccessful attempt to take the city by storm. Though wounded and repulsed, the Sultān lay encamped in the environs of the city and harried the country-side. Devarāya sued for peace, but the Sultān demanded, in addition to other treasures, the hand of the Rāya's daughter in marriage, and the cession of the fort of Bankāpūr as the price of peace. Devarāya agreed to the Sultān's conditions; a treaty was concluded, and marriage performed; and the Sultān returned triumphantly to his capital. The account of Nizām-ud-dīn is in close agreement with that of Firishta, but he does not refer to Firūz Shāh's demand for the hand of, and his marriage with, Devarāya's daughter. Tabātabā, however, gives an entirely different account of the expedition from which it would appear that the Sultān's campaign was confined to Bhānūr and Musalkal, places situated in the Deodrug *taluk* in the north-west of the Raichur district, from which he returned to his capital, having, of course, reduced them to subjection. In view of the conflicting evidence of the Muslim historians it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the events of the campaign. Nevertheless it is hard to believe that Firūz could reach the city of Vijayanagara without any opposition. Nor is it at all likely that Devarāya would have agreed to a humiliating treaty, especially when he succeeded in repulsing the Sultān's attack on his capital and compelled him to retreat to a respectable distance from it. In the absence of corroborative evidence of a more trustworthy character, one would also hesitate to believe that Devarāya offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to Firūz Shāh as the price of peace, a fact stated only by Firishta.

More reliable information is available about the war in the east. The Sultān's army, accompanied by his Velama and Reddi allies, appears to have descended on Udayagiri and obtained several notable victories. But what happened after these victories is not definitely known. One important result of the expedition was the Reddi occupation of Pottapi-nāḍu and Pulugula-nāḍu in the south-east of the Cuddapah district, which continued for seven years until

their final expulsion by Devarāya I in A.D. 1413-14. The victory of the allies was, however, not complete; for they failed to dislodge Devarāya from Pangal which in his hands became a standing menace to the safety of the Velama kingdom.

Reference has been made elsewhere^{7a} to the dissensions in the kingdom of Konḍavīdu. On the death of Kumāragiri Reddi in A.D. 1402, Peda Komaṭi Vema, his cousin, succeeded him at Konḍavīdu; while Kāṭaya Vema, the brother-in-law and minister of the late king, made himself master of the northern districts of the Reddi kingdom with the city of Rājahmundry on the Godāvari as his capital. Peda Komaṭi Vema, however, allied himself with the Velamas, and Kāṭaya Vema was driven out of his capital. It is true that Devarāya I, who was related to him by marriage alliance, was his friend; but so long as he was engaged in the war with Firūz Shāh and his allies, he could not be expected to render any help. Kāṭaya Vema was, therefore, obliged to bide his time and look forward to the termination of the war. When at last Devarāya successfully repulsed his enemies and consolidated his power, Kāṭaya Vema paid a visit to Vijayanagara in A.D. 1410 and solicited his help. Devarāya, who fully realized the value of an independent Reddi State on the Godāvari as a counterpoise against the Bahmanī Sultān and his allies, promised help, and promptly despatched troops to enable him to recover his power.

The Vijayanagara army arrived at their destination none too soon. The situation was indeed grave. Peda Komaṭi Vema had already invaded the Rājahmundry kingdom and crossed the Godāvari. Encouraged by the arrival of help from Vijayanagara, Kāṭaya Vema took the field and inflicted a crushing defeat on Peda Komaṭi Vema at Rāmeśvaram and put him to flight. But the arrival of Firūz Shāh and the Bahmanī army changed the situation. He won a number of victories, and Kāṭaya Vema was killed in one of these battles. On hearing of these disasters, Devarāya sent reinforcements. Doddaya Alla, the Commander-in-Chief of Kāṭaya Vema, rallied his late master's forces, and within a short time scored some success against the enemy.⁸

The war, however, did not come to an end. It moved westwards from the delta of the Godāvari to the Velama dominions on the north bank of the Krishnā; and the Bahmanī Sultān and the Rāya of Vijayanagara, who had hitherto played a subsidiary role, became the chief combatants. As noted above, the fort of Pangal or Nalgonda-Pangal, as it was known to Firishta, was in possession of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara since the time of its conquest in A.D. 1398 by Bukka II. It was considered the strongest and most

celebrated fort in that region and commanded the route from Vijayanagara to the Godāvari delta. Firūz Shāh, who realized the strategic importance of the fort, resolved to wrest it from Devarāya and sent his forces in A.D. 1417 to capture it. According to one authority, Devarāya attempted to intercept the expedition but was defeated and driven away. The siege lasted for two years, but it defied all attempts to take it. The besiegers were reduced to great straits on account of famine and pestilence which devastated their camp. Devarāya gathered together fresh forces, and having secured the help of a number of Hindu chiefs including the Velamas, surrounded the besieging force. The garrison, which had bravely held out for two years, encouraged by the distressed condition of the Muslim army and the arrival of the succour from Vijayanagara, sallied out of the fort and fell upon the camp of the enemy. Caught between the two Hindu armies, the Bahmanī forces were cut to pieces and the Sultān fled precipitately from the field. Devarāya I took full advantage of his victory and re-established his authority over the entire Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-doāb.⁹

Devarāya's intervention in the affairs of the kingdom of Rājahmundry brought in its train war with the king of Orissa. The Gajapati Bhānudeva IV, for some reasons unknown at present, invaded the kingdom of Rājahmundry. To drive away the Gajapati and protect his ally, Devarāya had to despatch a military expedition to the Godāvari delta. Before fighting could actually begin between the Gajapati and the Rāya, Doddaya Alla, or Allāda as he was more commonly known to his contemporaries, brought about, by means of his skilful diplomacy, a friendly understanding between the two rulers and persuaded them to return peacefully to their respective kingdoms. Though war was thus averted, its significance cannot be underrated. For it opens a new chapter in the history of the foreign relations of Vijayanagara, and marks the beginning of that rivalry between the Gajapatis and the Rāyas which was to involve the whole of the east coast into a war lasting for nearly a century and quarter.

The remaining years of Devarāya's reign were peaceful. The kingdom was undisturbed by wars. Devarāya probably spent his last years in retirement, seeking diversion in the company of the learned whom he greatly cherished. He was a great organizer of armies. For a period of 50 years (A.D. 1372-1422) during which he participated in the administration of the kingdom, he endeavoured to increase the efficiency of his army. He was the first king of his family to realize the value of cavalry which contributed greatly to the success of medieval armies. By purchasing on a large

scale horses from Arabia and Persia and recruiting suitable troopers to man them, he enhanced the strength and the fighting capacity of his forces. Devarāya was also the first ruler of Vijayanagara to employ in his service Turkish bowmen whom he attracted to his court by liberal grants of land and money. Under the fostering care of Devarāya I, the Vijayanagara army became an efficient instrument for victory, and enabled him to emerge successfully from the long-drawn contest with the Bahmanī Sultān Firūz Shāh.

Devarāya I was an ardent Śaivite, and was specially devoted to the worship of the Goddess Pampā of the Hāmpī-tīrtha. He built several temples at Vijayanagara some of which still remain in dilapidated condition. Devarāya was fond of learning, and extended his patronage to men of letters, philosophers, and artists. He invited them to his court and discoursed with them on the arts and sciences in which they were proficient. The 'Pearl Hall' of the palace where he honoured distinguished poets, philosophers and artists by bathing them in showers of gold coins and gems is immortalized in literature and is still remembered in the Telugu country. Under Devarāya I, Vijayanagara became the chief centre of learning in the whole of South India to which gravitated all seeking public recognition and fame. Vijayanagara had indeed become Vidyānagara, the city of learning and the abode of the Goddess Sarasvatī.

6. RĀMACHANDRA AND VIJAYA I.

The order of succession of the kings who immediately followed Devarāya I on the Diamond Throne is not definitely known. The evidence of inscriptions is perplexing, as two of his sons, Rāmachandra and Vijaya I, as well as his grandson Devarāya II are found to have been ruling simultaneously at Vijayanagara in A.D. 1422, the year in which he breathed his last. According to a mnemonic verse preserved in the *Vidyāranya-Kālajñāna*, Devarāya I was followed by kings bearing names beginning with *Rā* (Rāmachandra) and *Vi* (Vijaya I) respectively. This order of succession is probably correct and may be adopted, at least tentatively.

Rāmachandra, who had been associated with his father in the government of Udayagiri since A.D. 1390-91, appears to have ascended the throne on the death of his father and ruled for a period of six months.

Rāmachandra was succeeded by Vijaya I, who was also known as Vīayabhūpati, Vijaya Bukka or Vīra Bukka. There is considerable difference of opinion about the duration of his reign. Tradition embodied in the chronicle of Nuniz assigns to Vijaya's reign a

period of six years, but this has been reduced by modern scholars to a much shorter period varying from six months to two years. An analysis of Vijayanagara inscriptions of this time clearly shows that Vijaya's reign lasted from A.D. 1422 to A.D. 1430.¹⁰ Vijaya appears to have been a weak monarch; for, during the eight years of his rule, he seems to have taken little or no active part in the government of the kingdom, and left the administration in the abler hands of his son and co-regent, Devarāya II. The reign of Vijaya I was not, however, uneventful. It witnessed the outbreak of two important foreign wars, one with Bahmanī Sultān and the other with the Gajapati of Orissa; but as Devarāya II was the actual hero of these wars, the facts connected with them may be more conveniently dealt with while describing the events of his reign.

7. DEVARĀYA II (A.D. 1422-1446).

Though Devarāya II was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom since A.D. 1422, the exact date of his coronation is not known. It is true that in an epigraph at Manigarakeri in the South Kanara district, it is said that Devarāya II began to rule from the summer of Śaka 1343 (March, 1421); but he could not possibly have been crowned at that time, as not only his father and paternal uncle but also his grandfather were still alive, governing the kingdom. The record probably refers to the initial date on which Devarāya II was placed in charge of the affairs of Tulu, and his coronation as the co-regent of his father must have taken place some time later.

Like all his predecessors, Devarāya II was involved in a series of wars with the Bahmanī Sultāns. The first of these broke out immediately after Vijaya I assumed the reins of his government. Sultān Ahmad Shāh invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom on the first Nauroz after his accession (December 15, 1422).¹¹ In the initial stages of the war, the Vijayanagara troops penetrated as far as Etgir in the Gulbarga district; but the Vijayanagara army suffered defeat, owing to the desertion of the king of Warangal on the battle-field. Moreover, Bhānudeva IV, the king of Orissa, invaded the coastal Andhra country and wrested from Vijayanagara the former territories of the Reddis of Konḍavīdu. Though Ahmad Shāh must have taken advantage of these unexpected happenings, and marched towards Vijayanagara, it is doubtful whether he was able to penetrate to the capital and force Devarāya II to sue for peace, as stated by Firisnta. An important fact, missed by all the historians of Vijayanagara, must be noted in this context. Ahmad Shāh changed his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, while he was still engaged in war with Vijayanagara.¹² The transfer of his capital from Gul-

barga, near Vijayanagara frontier, to Bīdar, situated in the hilly tract farther north in the interior of his dominions, is not without significance. Ahmad Shāh's war on Vijayanagara did not perhaps end as favourably to the Sultān as the Muslim historians would have us believe. Some unrecorded Vijayanagara attack on Gulbarga probably compelled the Sultān to remove the seat of his government to a safer distance. That the war did not end in an absolute victory for the Sultān is made clear by an epigraph from South Kanara district, dated A.D. 1429-30, which refers to the defeat of the large and powerful Turushka cavalry by Devarāya II.¹³ As there was but one war between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī kingdoms in the time of Ahmad Shāh (A.D. 1422-1436), Devarāya II's victory over the Turushkas mentioned in the record must have been won during the Bahmanī invasion of A.D. 1423.

Two other victories against the rulers of Andhra and Orissa are attributed to Devarāya II in the epigraph cited above. There is reason to believe that these two kings were allies and that Devārāya II's victories over them were not independent but interconnected events. Although Devarāya II might have been prompted by a desire to chastise the Velama ruler for his treachery in the recent Bahmanī war, he had weightier reasons to launch an attack upon the Velamas. For they had joined the Gajapati Bhānudeva IV, invaded the coastal Andhra country, and established themselves there having dispossessed the nobles and officers of Vijayanagara whom they found in that region. For a period of about five years the country remained under their sway, and it was not until A.D. 1428 that Devarāya II succeeded in dislodging them.

Very little is known about the events of this war. Bhānudeva IV led an expedition to the south, and from the side of the Velamas, Linga, the Chief of Devarakonda, joined him. They attacked at first the Reddi kingdom of Rājahmundry. Allāda, who with the help of Devarāya I had revived the power of Kāṭaya Vema's family in A.D. 1417, died in A.D. 1422 or a little later; and his second son Virabhadra, who married Anitalli, Kāṭaya Vema's daughter and heir, was crowned king of Rājahmundry. He was assisted by his elder brother, Vema, who became, on account of his great skill both as a general and an administrator, the real ruler of the kingdom. Vema inherited none of the moderation of his father, Allāda, but followed vigorously the policy of expansion into Orissa favoured by Kāṭaya Vema and the early Reddi kings of Konḍavīdu. Bhānudeva probably undertook the expedition to the south only to check the growing aggression of the Reddis of Rājahmundry but, with the successful prosecution of the war, he seems

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to have not only extended the field of his operations but also contemplated the annexation of the coastal Andhra country to his kingdom. Though Vema and Virabhadra might have held their own against Bhānudeva, they were helpless against the combined forces of the Gajapati and the Velamas. They were therefore obliged to submit to Bhānudeva IV, acknowledging him as their sovereign and overlord. After the subjugation of the Rājahmundry kingdom, Bhānudeva IV cast his eyes upon the territories of the erstwhile kingdom of Konḍavīdu. Racha Vema was assassinated in A.D. 1424, and the kingdom was left without a ruler. Though some of the Vijayanagara officers and nobles seized large parts of the country, the Rāya was not yet able to enforce his authority effectively, owing to the invasion of the Bahmanī Sultān. Bhānudeva, therefore, crossed the Krishnā, and having, with the help of Liṅga, overpowered the Vijayanagara nobles and officers, made himself the master of the country.

As soon as Devarāya II freed his kingdom from the Muslim invaders, he launched an attack on the Gajapati and the Velamas. Though the incidents of this war are lost more or less in obscurity, the results are definitely known. The territories of the old Reddi kingdom of Konḍavīdu were reconquered and incorporated with the empire of Vijayanagara, and the power of the Reddis of Rājahmundry, which was in abeyance between A.D. 1424 and A.D. 1427, was completely restored.

For six or seven years after the conclusion of the war with the Gajapati, the kingdom of Vijayanagara enjoyed peace undisturbed by any foreign wars and internal disorders. With the death of the Bahmanī Sultān Ahmad Shāh and the accession to the throne of his son ‘Alā-ud-dīn II, however, the tranquillity of the kingdom was broken, and Devarāya II became once again involved in wars with the Bahmanī Sultān. Two wars are recorded by the Muslim historians, one in A.H. 839 (A.D. 1435-36), and another in A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443-44). Both wars were confined to the Krishnā-Tunga-bhadrā-doāb and centred round the forts of Mudgal and Raichur. In the first war ‘Alā-ud-dīn was certainly the aggressor, but the conflicting accounts of the Muslim historians are hard to reconcile. The discrepancies, which throw doubt on their veracity, seem to be the result of an attempt to cover the failure of the Sultān's invasion and convert defeat into victory. Taking all facts into consideration, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Sultān ‘Alā-ud-dīn II's invasion of Vijayanagara was a failure.

The second war broke out, as stated already, in A.D. 1443. The causes of this war are thus described by Firishta: Devarāya II,

having instituted in A.D. 1437 an inquiry about the causes of his frequent defeat in the wars with the Bahmanī Sultāns, was told that it was due in the first place to the inferior quality of the horses in his army, and secondly to the excellent body of the archers in the service of the Bahmanī Sultāns. To improve the fighting quality of his forces, he enlisted in his service Muslim archers to give instruction to his Hindu soldiers; and having soon mustered two thousand Muslim and sixty thousand Hindu archers, eighty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry, he invaded the Bahmanī kingdom with the intention of conquering it. This is very far from the truth. There was no need for Devarāya II to institute a special enquiry about this time; for Muslims were entertained in the service of Vijayanagara monarchs at least from the time of Devarāya I;¹⁴ and there were as many as ten thousand Turkish troopers in the employ of Devarāya II as early as A.D. 1430, six years before the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn II. The real cause of the war was not Devarāya's determination to conquer the Bahmanī kingdom, but the desire of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn II to take advantage of a misfortune that befell Devarāya II, and exact from him a large sum of money. Fortunately, the evidence of a contemporary Muslim writer, who was present at the time of the outbreak of this war in Vijayanagara, enables us to find out the truth, and get one more evidence of the totally unreliable character of Firishta's account of the Bahmanī-Vijayanagara struggle.

In A.D. 1443, while Abdur Razzāk, the Persian ambassador, was sojourning in Calicut, one of the brothers of Devarāya II, having invited the king, the prince, and nobles of the kingdom to a feast in a palace which he built, massacred all who attended the function. Though Devarāya II did not accept the invitation on account of indisposition, the treacherous brother paid him a visit in the royal palace, obviously to persuade him to go to the feast, and finding him alone, stabbed him with a poignard in several places. Believing that the king was dead he then appeared on the portico of the palace and proclaimed himself king. Meanwhile, Devarāya II recovering consciousness dragged himself on to the portico, and commanded the people not to recognize the traitor but to seize him and put him to death. A crowd of people, who had assembled in the palace, fell upon the prince and slew him on the spot. This unfortunate incident, which involved the slaughter of all those who had any name or rank in the State, naturally created chaos and confusion. But it also roused the cupidity of the Bahmanī Sultān who demanded the payment of seven lakhs of *varāhas* and threatened to invade Vijayanagara in case his demand was not met. Devarāya II re-

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fused to comply with the Sultān's demand; and as a consequence war broke out between the two kingdoms.

Firishta gives an elaborate account of this war and furnishes details not known from other sources. According to him Devarāya II invaded the *doāb*, captured Mudgal, and plundered the Sultān's territory as far as Sagar and Bijāpur. The Sultān came against him with an army of 50,000 horse and 60,000 foot. Three severe engagements took place between the main forces of the Sultān and the Rāya. In the first battle, which was obviously fought under the walls of Mudgal, Devarāya II was victorious, and the Sultān sustained heavy losses. In the third battle, which was also fought under the walls of Mudgal, the eldest son of Devarāya II was killed; and the forces of Vijayanagara fled panic-stricken into the fort. A treaty was concluded according to which Devarāya agreed not to molest the Sultān's territories in future, and to pay annually a stipulated tribute.

Though Firishta's account of the war is generally accepted as genuine, its authenticity is not above doubt. The Muslim historians, who describe at some length the terms of the treaty, are silent about Mudgal, which was one of the most important strongholds in the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-*doāb* and was wrested, according to Firishta, from the Sultān by Devarāya at the beginning of the war. If the Sultān left the fort in the possession of the Rāya even after the conclusion of the treaty, it is certain that notwithstanding his boasted victories he could not retake it. At the very time when Devarāya II is said to have sued for peace with the Sultān, his forces were engaged in a victorious campaign in the east coast against the powerful king of Orissa. Having a powerful army flushed with victory in the east coast in reserve, it is absurd to suppose that Devarāya II would have sued for peace and concluded a treaty with the Sultān, who was not even strong enough to retake the fort of Mudgal which belonged to him. There is also reason to believe that the authority of the Sultān did not extend as far south as the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-*doāb*; for, according to a Persian epigraph of the Sultān, the boundary (obviously southern) of his kingdom passed through the village of Halsangi in the Indi *tāluk* of the present Bijāpur district.¹⁵ Having regard for these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Firishta's account of the war is, as usual, grossly exaggerated and one-sided, and must be utilized with great caution in the reconstruction of Vijayanagara history.

Two other expeditions which Devarāya II had undertaken about this time deserve mention. At the time when Abdur Razzāk arrived in India in November 1442, Lakkana Dannaik, the *Diwān* and

Commander-in-Chief of Devarāya II, is said to have gone on a naval expedition to the frontier of Ceylon. The expedition which must have started some years earlier, as it is referred to in inscriptions as early as A.D. 1438, was completely successful. The Ceylonese were defeated and compelled to pay tribute; and Lakkana re-established the power of the Rāya over the southern ocean.

Devarāya II was also called upon to intervene once again in the affairs of the kingdom of Rājahmundry. The Reddi rulers, Allaya Vema and Virabhadra, embarked on a policy of aggression and conquest, and by constant encroachments on the territories of the Gajapati pushed forward the frontier of the kingdom to the shores of the Chilkā lake. Bhānudeva IV was succeeded by the Gajapati Kapilendra, one of the most powerful and ambitious monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of Orissa. Kapilendra, who was determined to put an end to the Reddi aggression, formed very early in his reign an alliance with the Velamas, the inveterate foes of the Reddis, and seems to have launched an attack upon the kingdom of Rājahmundry in A.D. 1443, taking advantage of the preoccupation of Vijayanagara with the invasion of the Bahmanī Sultān. Devarāya II did not, however, leave his allies in the lurch; he sent a strong army under Mallappa Uḍaiyar to drive away the Gajapati and re-establish the power of the Reddis firmly in the Godāvarī delta. Here, as in the case of the expedition against Ceylon, no information about the incidents of the campaign has come down to us, though there is no doubt about its ultimate result. Kapilendra was defeated and was compelled to return to his kingdom. Mallappa Uḍaiyar remained for some time at Rājahmundry to restore, in accordance with the instructions of his master, the power of the Reddis.¹⁶

Though Devarāya II ruled for nearly two years more after the eastern campaign, no more wars seem to have disturbed the peace of the kingdom. According to an epigraph at Sravana Belgola, he died on Tuesday, May 24, 1446, after a rule of 25 years. Devarāya II was a great monarch. He was the master of an extensive empire which extended from the river Krishnā to Ceylon and from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal. Besides the taxes collected from his dominions, he gathered much revenue from the numerous ports of his empire. His fleet scoured the seas, and levied tribute from Quilon, Ceylon, Pegu and many other countries. He had under him one thousand war elephants and an army of eleven lakhs of men. Although Devarāya II was frequently at war with enemies, he found time to patronize men of letters in Sanskrit and vernaculars and rewarded them by liberal grants of land and money. He loved to

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organize literary and philosophical debates in his court and presided over them personally. Devarāya promoted fine arts and adorned his capital with new temples.

8. VIJAYARĀYA II (A.D. 1446-47) and MALLIKĀRJUNA (A.D. 1446-65)

The political situation at Vijayanagara immediately after the death of Devarāya II is not definitely known. Though it is generally assumed that his son, Mallikārjuna, succeeded him on the throne, there is reason to believe that Vijaya II, more commonly known as Pratāpadevarāya, younger brother of Devarāya II, ascended the throne and ruled for a short period.¹⁷ It is evident from literary and epigraphic evidence that both Vijaya II and Mallikārjuna for some time ruled the empire simultaneously. How Vijaya II came to be dispossessed of it cannot, however, be ascertained at present. He was probably obliged to come to terms with Mallikārjuna, as a result of which he had to renounce his claim to the throne and retire to his estate, where he continued to rule until at least A.D. 1455.¹⁸

The reign of Vijaya II, short as it was, is important on account of an attempt made by him to put down ministerial corruption and purify the administration of the empire. The ministers of the state used to exact presents and collect certain communal taxes in exorbitant manner which caused considerable distress in the kingdom. Vijaya II resolved to put an end to the practice, and issued orders accordingly. As the reign of Vijaya II came to an end soon after the issue of this edict, it is not likely that his attempt to reform the administration produced any permanent result.

Mallikārjuna was probably a mere youth at the time of the death of his father. He is also spoken in the inscriptions as Mummaḍi Devarāya (Devarāya III) or Mummaḍi Praudha Devarāya, (Praudha Devarāya III).¹⁹ Mallikārjuna was a weak monarch, and his accession marks the beginning of the decline in the fortunes of the Sangama dynasty. The rivalry between the Rāyas and the Gajapatis of Orissa for the possession of the coastal Andhra country came to a head; and in the struggle that ensued, the Rāya lost considerable territory besides the coastal Andhra for which the fights began.

According to the contemporary playwright, Gaṅgādāsa, the war began with the joint attack of the Gajapati and the Bahmanī Sultān.²⁰ This took place probably in A.D. 1450, for in that year Mallikārjuna is said to have won a victory over the Musulmāns. Though Kapilendra, the Gajapati king, is said in one of the records

of his grandson, Pratāparudra, to have levied on this occasion a heavy tribute from the Karnāṭa king, the statement is not supported by any other evidence. No trace of Gajapati rule is found anywhere in the Telugu country during the next four or five years, and Mallikārjuna's authority was recognized until A.D. 1454-55 in the coastal region including the old kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. The silence of the Bahmanī historians on the subject, coupled with Mallikārjuna's claim of victory over the Muslim forces, seems to point to the same conclusion. Mallikārjuna, therefore, appears to have succeeded in repulsing the invaders, as stated by Gaṅgādāsa, and maintaining his hold over the whole extent of his empire.

The Gajapati invasion of Vijayanagara kingdom began, however, in right earnest four years later. Between A.D. 1450 and 1454 Kapilendra reduced the Reddi kingdom of Rājahmundry, and sent an army under his cousin Gaṇadeva across the Krishnā into Koṇḍavīḍu province of the Vijayanagara empire. The expedition was completely successful. Vijayanagara armies were defeated and driven out of Koṇḍavīḍu; and the important forts of Koṇḍavīḍu, Vinukonda and Addanki together with territories dependent on them passed into his hands. For four or five years there was complete lull. Kumāra Hamvīra, one of Kapilendra's sons, was appointed the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu in the place of Gaṇadeva, and was commissioned to invade and conquer Vijayanagara territories.

Hamvīra was a great warrior and capable general. He led a grand army in A.D. 1463 into the southern provinces of the empire and was ably assisted by his son Kumāra Kapileśvara Mahāpātra. The Orissan army seems to have met with little or no opposition and captured almost all the important forts on the east coast; Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Padaivīḍu, Kāñchī, Valudulampatti-Usāvadi, Tirāvarūr and Tiruchchirāpalli rapidly fell one after another. The expedition was a grand success and Hamvīra won great glory by his advance up to the Kāverī. Kapilendra evidently intended to annex the whole territory, for he appointed his grandson Kapileśvara Mahāpātra governor of the extensive area and also made other administrative arrangements. But, for some reasons not known at present, the Orissan forces were obliged to retrace their footsteps within two years. They lost all the forts which they had conquered with the exception of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. Thus though the expedition caused considerable confusion, it did not lead to any permanent result, so far as Orissa was concerned. But it had a considerable effect upon the political and economic condition of Vijayanagara. The loss of the two strategic forts of Koṇḍavīḍu and Udayagiri, together with their dependent territories, weakened the

empire; and the failure to offer successful opposition to the Oriyas lowered the prestige of the Rāya.

Mallikārjuna did not long survive the disastrous Gajapati invasion, and died about the middle of A.D. 1465. The end of Mallikārjuna was not probably peaceful. Tradition preserved in the Śrīvaishṇava work *Prapannāmr̥itam* states that his own cousin Virūpāksha II assassinated him together with the members of the royal family and usurped the throne. This is not unlikely; for, though Virūpāksha II was the cousin of Mallikārjuna, he could not have had any claim to the throne, as the latter had a son to succeed him. Whether Virūpāksha had actually murdered his cousin or not, there can be no doubt that he laid violent hands upon the throne and took forcible possession of the empire.

9. VIRŪPĀKSHA II AND THE FALL OF THE SAṄGAMA DYNASTY (A.D. 1465-1485).

Though Virūpāksha succeeded in establishing himself on the throne, he was not able to enforce his authority over the empire. The eastern seaboard extending from the Gundlakamma to the Kāverī, the southern Karnāṭaka, and the bulk of the Western Andhra districts, were under the sway of the Sāluvas who nominally acknowledged his overlordship, but governed their possessions virtually as independent princes. The successors of Mallikārjuna seem to have retired to the banks of the Kāverī in the south, and ruled over parts of the Tanjore, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, Salem and Madurā districts in their own right, without any reference to the authority of Virūpāksha. Similarly, on the west coast the Tuluva and the Konkanī nobles, who were busy with their local feuds, paid little or no attention to his behests. His authority was thus confined mostly to Karnāṭaka and portions of the Western Andhra country, although he seized the Diamond Throne of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.

The first few years of the reign of Virūpāksha II were uneventful. With the death, however, of the Gajapati Kapilendra in A.D. 1470,^{20a} the political conditions in the Deccan began to change rapidly. The Bahmanī Sultān, who was held in check until that time by the fear of an attack from the Gajapati, invaded Vijayanagara possessions in Konkan on the west coast. Muhammad Shāh III, at the instance of his Prime Minister, the famous Mahmūd Gāvān, sent him at the head of a large army. The first target of his attack was Śankara Rāo of Khelna. The fort was impregnable and Mahmūd Gāvān succeeded in capturing it after two years, more by judicious distribution of bribes than by prowess. Next he planned

an attack on Goa both by land and sea, and succeeded in making himself master of the place before Virūpāksha could think of concerting measures for its defence. The loss of Goa was indeed a severe blow to Vijayanagara. As the principal port on the west coast, it commanded the trade with Western Asia, Africa, and Europe which brought much money into the treasury. The loss of the port cut off not only a lucrative source of income to the State but also the traffic in horses which was essential for keeping up its military strength. Virūpāksha did not easily reconcile himself to the loss of Goa. He made at least two attempts to recapture the port. Some two years after the loss, Birkana Rāy (? Vira Kanna Rāya), the ruler of Belgaum, with the help of the chief of Bankapur, attacked Goa at his instance. On hearing this, Sultān Muhammad Shāh III, accompanied by Mahmūd Gāvān, marched at the head of a vast army and laid siege to the fort of Belgaum. Though Birkana Rāy offered stout resistance for some time, he was ultimately obliged to submit and enter into the order of nobility of the Bahmanī court. With the defeat of Birkana Rāy, the expedition against Goa collapsed, and the Bahmanī Sultān kept his hold on the city. Another attempt was made in 1481. Immediately after the execution of the great minister and the consequent confusion in the Bahmanī kingdom, Virūpāksha sent an expedition against Goa to drive away the Bahmanī garrison and recapture the port. Muhammad Shāh, who was at that time in Belgaum, directed Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān to march with his force to rescue the garrison, and he appears to have been successful in repelling the Vijayanagara attack. The success of 'Ādil Khān at Goa opened the way for an invasion of Vijayanagara possessions in Tulu-rājya. Goprādāna Keśarī (Go Faridun Kaisar Khān), the Sultān of Bidire, sent an army under his commander Nijām-ud-dīn Maluka (Malik Nizām-ud-dīn) against the territories of the chiefs of Nagire and Honnāvūr in the Tulu-rājya. The results of the expedition are not definitely known. The Nagire chiefs appear to have been successful in driving back the Musulmāns. As a consequence of the operations of Mahmūd Gāvān in Konkan and the west coast, Virūpāksha II lost not only the seaboard of northern Konkan but also the bulk of northern Karnāṭaka.

The death of Kapilendra plunged the coastal Andhra country into the throes of civil war, and offered an excellent opportunity for the Rāya of Vijayanagara to win back his lost dominion; but Virūpāksha did not rise to the occasion. He failed to take advantage of the situation to recover the prestige of his government and the affection of his subjects. His failure, however, provided Sāluva Narasimha, one of the prominent noblemen of his kingdom, a splen-

did opportunity to emerge as the saviour of the kingdom, and the custodian of the power of the Rāyas.

Sāluva Narasimha was the eldest son of Sāluva Gūḍa, the chief of Chandragiri in Chittoor district. He seems to have succeeded to the family estate about A.D. 1456. At the time of his succession, his authority could not have been great, though besides his family fief of Chandragiri, he seems to have held an estate in the neighbourhood of Nagar, in the Tirukkoyilur *taluk* of the South Arcot district. The weakness of the central government at Vijayanagara subsequent to the defeat of Mallikārjuna at the hands of Gaṇadeva in A.D. 1454, and the loss of the Koṇḍavīḍu-rājya enabled him to enlarge his territory. The frequent attacks of the Gajapati on Vijayanagara culminating in the invasion of 1463, created anarchy and confusion in the kingdom. The assassination of Mallikārjuna and the usurpation of the throne by Virūpāksha II gave a further impetus to the forces of disintegration; and the nobles and the captains, though they outwardly acknowledged the supremacy of the Rāya, acted pretty much as they liked. It must have been during these years of anarchy that Sāluva Narasimha laid the foundations of his power. He had already made himself master of Chittoor, the two Arcots, and the Kolar districts by the beginning of Virūpāksha's reign. His power was so great that Mallikārjuna's young son, Rājaśekhara, sought refuge at his court.

Sāluva Narasimha resolved very early in his career to free his country from the yoke of Orissa. The illness of Kapilendra and the outbreak of dissensions among his sons subsequent to his death in A.D. 1470 gave him the opportunity he was waiting for. He appears to have begun his campaign against the Gajapati in A.D. 1469, and after defeating the Oriya force captured the fort of Udayagiri which was the southern gate, as it were, of the coastal Andhra country. The progress of his expedition was checked at this stage by an invasion of the Chola and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam countries by the Pāṇḍya chief Bhūvanaikavīra Samarakolāhala at the head of the Chevulapotu (Lambakarṇa) forces who are said to have established themselves in the land of the Tigulas (i.e. Tamils). Narasimha expelled the invaders and pursued them as far as Rāmeśvaram, where he received presents sent by the Buddhist king of Ceylon and the rulers of other islands. He then proceeded in a south-westerly direction and reached Anantaśayanam (Trivandrum) where he stayed for some time, conducting operations against the Gurukarnas (i.e. Lambakarnas) who probably lived somewhere in the neighbourhood.

Having thus settled the affairs of his southern territories by chastising the Pāṇḍyas and their Lambakarṇa allies, Sāluva Nara-

simha returned to resume the campaign against Orissa, where important changes had taken place in the meantime. Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī had become master not only of Telingāna but also of the coastal Andhra country. But partly by diplomacy and partly by military victories, Sāluva Narasimha completely achieved his object. He conquered the whole of the coastal Andhra country to the south of the Krishnā, captured the port of Masulipatam, and took possession of the fort of Kondavīdu in A.D. 1480. He thus came into possession of the country between the Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī territories in the east coast and became the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingāna and Vijayanagara.

The acquisition of Kondavīdu involved Sāluva Narasimha in a war with Bahmanī Sultān, who not only captured this fort but even advanced as far as Kāñchī and sacked it. But the murder of Mahmūd Gāvān, which shortly followed, changed the triumph of the Bahmanīs into a veritable disaster. As mentioned above, in chapter XI, this was brought about by a false accusation against the minister by his enemies. But a different version of the affair is given by Sakhawī who wrote about it between A.D. 1481 and 1497. He knows nothing about the forged letter of Gāvān to the king of Orissa. According to him the Sultān was away from the Khvāja for seventeen days on a campaign in Narsing's country. Taking advantage of this opportunity, some of Sultān's favourite ministers came to the Khvāja and warned him that Narsing's army would make a night attack upon his camp. He therefore took necessary precautions, and made immediate preparations to ward off the expected attack. The ministers of the Sultān then returned to him and informed him that the Khvāja was making preparations to attack the Sultān himself. The latter thereupon summoned the Khvāja to his presence and ordered his execution. This is the account of Sakhawī. What probably provoked the Sultān to order the immediate execution of the Khvāja was an incident which happened near Kandukur where the Khvāja was encamped. Īsvāra, the commander-in-chief of Sāluva Narasimha's army, attacked the Sultān's cavalry and destroyed it in a fierce battle. This, coupled with the defensive measures concerted by the Khvāja, appears to have convinced the Sultān that Gāvān was actually in league with his enemies. He therefore immediately ordered, without hesitation, the execution of the great minister. However that may be, Muhammad Shāh lost all the spoils of his Kāñchī expedition and was mortified by his defeat at the hands of the infidels. It was probably to recover his prestige that he sent an expedition under Yūsuf 'Adil Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk against Sāluva Narasimha from his camp at Kandukur, and himself marched in person on Masulipatam and

its dependent territory still under Narasimha's rule. Though the Sultān succeeded in capturing Masulipatam, the expedition led by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk ended in a disaster.

The *Varāha-purāṇam* mentions a number of places which Sāluva Narasimha's commander-in-chief, Īśvara Nāyaka, conquered on behalf of his master. Of these, Udayādri (Udayagiri) and Nellore must have been reduced to subjection during his campaign against the Gajapati in A.D. 1469-70. Āmūru (Chingleput) and Kovela (i.e. Śrīraṅgam), as well as Bonagiri and Chenji, mentioned in the *Jaimini-Bhāratam*, must have been conquered during his southern campaign in A.D. 1470. Kongu-Dhārāpuri (Coimbatore), Kundāni (Salem), Seringapatam or Śrīraṅgapāṭnam, Nāgamaṅgalam, and Bangalore as well as Penugonḍa (Anantapur) and Gaṇḍikoṭa (Cuddapah), must have been brought under his control in his campaign against the nobles and Nāyaks, who refused to acknowledge his authority, between A.D. 1481 and 1485. Special mention must be made of the chiefs of Ummattur who offered stubborn resistance to Sāluva Narasimha and his successors. They held sway over a large part of the southern and eastern Mysore districts and were masters of the two island fortresses of Śrīraṅgapāṭnam and Śivansamudram in the Kāverī. Devanna Uḍaiyar, Nanjarāja and Vīra Somarāya, who ruled at this time, acknowledged no overlord, but issued charters in their own right as independent princes. To make himself master of the upper Kāverī valley, Sāluva Narasimha had to crush them. It was in this connection that he conquered Nāgamaṅḍala (Nāgamaṅgalā), Śrīraṅgapāṭnam and Bangalore. Another powerful enemy whom he overthrew at Penugonḍa about this time was the Turushka who allied himself with a powerful Sabara chief called Pikkillu. Who Pikkillu was and why he joined the Turushkas are matters on which no information is available at present. The Turushkas were no doubt the Bahmanī soldiers whom Muhammad Shāh had despatched from Kandukur under the leadership of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk. In the encounter with Narasimha's forces they were defeated and sought safety in flight; and Pikkillu lost his life.

Sāluva Narasimha thus became the virtual master practically of the whole of the Vijayanagara empire. The measures concerted by Virūpāksha II to check the growth of his powers are not known. The Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, gives little credit to Virūpāksha for anything good. He was a bad king sunk in vice, and the vast kingdom which he seized began to fall to pieces. He was murdered about the end of A.D. 1485 by one of his sons, who, however, renounced his right

to the throne in favour of his younger brother, Padearao i.e. Praudha Devarāya.

Praudha Devarāya, who thus obtained the kingdom from his elder brother, was a grown up prince who had been associated with his father in the administration of the empire since A.D. 1471. He was a feeble dissolute prince utterly unworthy of the throne which he was called on to occupy. He is said to have been totally indifferent to the affairs of the State; but even if he were different in his character, he could not have prevailed against such a powerful vassal as Sāluva Narasimha. The character of Praudha Devarāya, however, provided a pretext to Sāluva Narasimha to seize the throne for himself in the interests of the empire. The time was propitious. All the important vassals were subdued and the political affairs in Orissa and the Bahmanī kingdom were such that there was no fear of intervention from these quarters on behalf of Praudha Devarāya. Therefore Sāluva Narasimha resolved to seize the opportunity. At first he won over the nobles to his side by offering them valuable presents; and when he felt sure of their support, he sent his army under Narasa Nāyaka, the son of Īvara Nāyaka, to Vijayanagara with instructions to expel Praudha Devarāya from the capital and take possession of the throne and kingdom in his name. Narasa met with no opposition; and when he entered the capital, Praudha Deva-rāya fled from it, and took refuge in a foreign country. With the flight of Praudha Devarāya, the rule of the Saṅgama dynasty came to an end. Sāluva Narasimha soon followed Narasa Nāyaka to the capital, and celebrated his coronation about the close of A.D. 1485.

10. SĀLUVA NARASIMHA (A.D. 1485-1490)

Like most usurpers, Sāluva Narasimha found that it was easier to capture the throne than to enforce his authority in the kingdom. The captains and the chiefs who lent him support in seizing the crown were unwilling to submit to his yoke; and consequently, he was obliged to fight against his erstwhile supporters and friends. Among these the Sambeṭas of Peranipādu in the Gandikota *Sīnu* and the Pālaigārs of Ummattur and Talakādu in the Hoysala-*rājyu* deserve special mention. Sambeṭa Śivarāja offered stubborn resistance, but, as the fortifications of his headquarters Maddigundala could not withstand a sustained artillery attack, the fort fell and Śivarāja perished with most of his followers at the hands of the enemy.

Narasimha had also to carry on a prolonged fight against the Pālaigārs of Ummattur and Sangitapura who held sway over the Mysore district and Tulu-nādu respectively. Though he appears to

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have succeeded in imposing his authority over Tulu-nāḍu during the last years of his reign, the chiefs of Ummattur remained unsubdued until the time of his death.

The collapse of the Bahmanī power in Telingāna after the death of Muhammad Shāh III in A.D. 1482, and the preoccupation of Sāluva Narasimha with preparations for the usurpation of the throne of Vijayanagara, left the field open for the ruler of Orissa, Purushottama Gajapati, who took full advantage of the situation. He seized the coastal Andhra country up to Vinikonda in the Guntur district as early as A.D. 1484-85, and then attacked the fort of Udayagiri some time after Narasimha had usurped the throne. The attack was completely successful. According to some accounts, Sāluva Narasimha, who was in the fort at the time, was taken prisoner, and he had to surrender it to the Gajapati as the price of freedom. Whether Sāluva Narasimha was taken prisoner by Purushottama cannot be verified, but about the loss of Udayagiri, there is hardly any room for doubt.

Sāluva Narasimha died early in A.D. 1490. His services to the kingdom of Vijayanagara can be hardly over-estimated. It is true that he expelled the old dynasty and usurped the throne. But it is possible to construe his action in a more favourable light and to regard the act of usurpation as due not so much to his ambition to sit upon the Diamond Throne as to a desire to protect the Hindu kingdom and thereby save the Hindu *dharma* from the neighbouring Muslim kingdom. With this end in view he befriended the Arab merchants and purchased the best horses in the market to improve the condition of his cavalry, which, under his successors, contributed a great deal to the military glory of Vijayanagara. He also transformed the peace-loving farmers of Vijayanagara into a nation of warriors, and taught them how to contend on equal terms with the Muslims and the Oriyas on the field of battle. In short, it may be said that Sāluva Narasimha infused fresh vigour into the body politic and rescued the State from destruction.

11. NARASA NĀYAKA (A.D. 1490-1503)

As Sāluva Narasimha had only two sons who were too young to govern the kingdom, he appointed, at the time of his death, his minister Narasa Nāyaka as the guardian of the princes and the regent of the kingdom, with instruction to hand over the kingdom, after the princes had attained majority, to the one whom he considered more worthy to rule. But, on the death of his master, Narasa Nāyaka placed on the throne Timma, the elder son, who had been holding the office of *Yuvarāja* under his father. As Timma

was too young to shoulder the burdens of the State, Narasa Nāyaka became the real ruler of the kingdom.

The task that devolved upon the shoulders of Narasa Nāyaka was by no means light. Sāluva Narasimha had no time to consolidate his position and establish his power firmly at Vijayanagara. Though most of the nobles and subordinate chiefs submitted to his authority, they showed no disposition to acknowledge the supremacy of his sons and allow themselves to be governed by the protector. Besides, he had to reckon with the two eternal foreign enemies of the kingdom, the Bahmanī Sultān and the Gajapati.

By dint of numerous military campaigns Narasa Nāyaka restored the integrity of the kingdom, and the enemies whom he had conquered during the thirteen years that he governed the empire are enumerated in all the records of his descendants. We learn from them that he not only subdued Chera, Chola, Pāṇḍya and other localities in South India, but also defeated the Gajapati, and took ‘Ādil Khān a prisoner. These claims had a good foundation.

Reference has been made above to the complete collapse of the authority of the Bahmanī king about the time when Sāluva Narasimha died. The king Mahmūd Shāh was a mere tool in the hands of his Prime Minister Qāsim Barīd, and powerful nobles like Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk and ‘Ādil Khān behaved like independent rulers in their own domains. Qāsim Barīd, jealous of the growing power of ‘Ādil Khān, entered into an alliance with Bahādur Gilānī, the ruler of Konkan, and Narasa Nāyaka, who made a simultaneous attack on Bijāpur. Narasa Nāyaka marched into the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā *doāb* and captured the forts of Rāichur and Mudgal. ‘Ādil Khān was forced to buy peace by ceding these two forts, but as soon as he was free from other troubles, he tried to recover them and declared war against Vijayanagara. Narasa Nāyaka composed his quarrels at home, of which ‘Ādil Khān hoped to take advantage, and marched with a powerful army to oppose the invader.

In a battle that took place in the course of the campaign, ‘Ādil Khān sustained a severe defeat and was obliged to seek shelter under the walls of the fortress of Mānava. Narasa, who followed hard upon his heels, invested the fort and shut out all egress and ingress. Realizing his own helpless condition, ‘Ādil Khān resolved to get rid of him by means of treachery. He invited Narasa and the king, as well as the nobles and officers of their court, for a peace-conference, and when they arrived, he treacherously attacked them, and succeeded in putting most of them to death. Narasa Nāyaka and his young master effected their escape, but apprehending

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trouble from his rivals in the capital, Narasa, hurried to Vijayanagara and left 'Ādil Khān free to subdue the *doāb*.

The Gajapati king Pratāparudra also led an expedition against Vijayanagara and advanced up to the Pennār, but he seems to have been defeated and driven back. Narasa Nāyaka is credited with victory over the Gajapati in all the Tuluva records; and, as the boundaries between the two kingdoms remained unchanged, Pratāparudra's invasion does not appear to have produced any material results.

But Narasa had numerous internal enemies and they were scattered all over the empire. They included many of the ministers of the king and nobles, as well as the dependent chiefs subject to his authority. A certain minister, who was not well disposed towards Narasa Nāyaka, slew king Timma and proclaimed that at the instance of the protector his master had been slain, no doubt expecting that the protector would be put to death for that act of treason. To clear himself of the accusation, Narasa immediately placed on the throne the younger son of Sāluva Narasimha called Immaḍi Narasimha or Dhamma Tammarāya. The new king, however, turned against the protector and began to show marked favour to his rival. Narasa found it difficult to remain in the capital. He, therefore, repaired to Penugonḍa on the pretext of going on a hunt and, having gathered forces, marched upon the capital and invested it. Immaḍi Narasimha was obliged to sue for peace and accept him as the guardian of his person and the protector of the empire. Narasa Nāyaka entered the city in great triumph, and his authority was established more firmly than ever. In order to prevent the king from causing him embarrassment in the future, Narasa, under the pretence of securing his safety, kept him under custody at Penugonḍa and governed the kingdom as if he were its master.

Next, Narasa Nāyaka had to undertake an expedition against the chiefs and nobles in the southern provinces. On the death of Sāluva Narasimha the chiefs of the Chola, the Pāṇḍya and the Chera countries seem to have asserted their independence. Narasa defeated them all, captured Madurā, and proceeded to Rāmeśvaram at the head of his army. These victories secured him effective control over the Tamil provinces of the empire. He next turned his attention to Western Karnāṭaka, where the Pālaigārs of Ummattur and their allies had raised the standard of rebellion. He captured the island fort of Seringapatam, the most important of the rebel strongholds, and the Heuna or Hoysala chief, who was the leader of the rebels, was taken prisoner. The fall of Seringapatam and the capture of its ruler broke the back of the rebellion, and Narasa's

authority was as firmly established in Karnāṭaka as in the Tamil country.

Narasa Nāyaka was the *de facto* sovereign of Vijayanagara during the nominal rule of the sons of Narasimha. He was called the *rakshākartā* (protector) and *svāmī* (Lord); he held the offices of the *senādhipati* (commander-in-chief), the *mahāpradhāna* (Prime Minister), and the *kāryakartā* (agent) of the king. The administration of the empire was carried on by him in the name of the king. He assumed the royal titles, sat upon the Diamond Throne, and was spoken of as *Svāmī* (the lord), a form of address usually reserved for the king. Though Narasa Nāyaka imprisoned the king and usurped the kingdom, he kept up appearances. The usurpation of power by him was justified, as in the case of Sāluva Narasimha, by the exigencies of the situation. The work, left half accomplished by Sāluva Narasimha, was continued by him; he practically restored the ancient boundaries of the kingdom by reducing to subjection all the rebellious chiefs who asserted independence during the last days of the Sangama kings. He found the State in convalescent condition, imparted fresh strength to the body politic, and left it in full vigour, pulsating with new life. Narasa died in A.D. 1503, bequeathing the king and the kingdom to his eldest son, Vīra Narasimha.

Narasa Nāyaka was a munificent patron of letters, and several distinguished scholars and poets flourished at his court. Like all his descendants, he fondly cherished Telugu; he invited several eminent poets to his court, encouraged them to compose poems, and rewarded them richly by liberal grants of land and money. The Telugu literature which was intimately connected with the Vijayanagara court since the days of Harihara I and Bukka I, and was fostered by Sāluva Narasimha, received a fresh impetus from Narasa Nāyaka and bloomed forth in great splendour in the time of his more illustrious sons.

12. VĪRA NARASIMHA (A.D. 1503-1509)

Narasa Nāyaka was succeeded by his eldest son Vīra Narasimha as the regent of the kingdom. Though the king, Immaḍi Narasimha, was now a prince grown up in years and capable of managing his own affairs, the new regent showed no inclination to lay down his office and retire into the background. He was, on the contrary, resolved to set aside the king and usurp the throne. Feeling that the existence of Immaḍi Narasimha was an impediment to the success of his schemes, he caused his ward and master to be assassinated in the fort of Penugonḍa where he was confined, and

proclaimed himself king in A.D. 1505. Immadi Narasimha was an unfortunate prince whom fate dealt with unkindly. The death of his father and elder brother, when he was still too young to grasp the reins of government, placed him at the mercy of ambitious men who from the beginning plotted against him and ultimately compassed his death. He chafed in vain against circumstances but gained nothing by it except loss of freedom and death. With him ended the brief rule of the Sāluva monarchs at Vijayanagara yielding place to a new line of kings under whom the empire rose to great magnificence and power.

Vīra Narasimha ruled as the king of Vijayanagara for five years. His rule was a period of turmoil. His usurpation of the throne evoked much opposition, and the whole kingdom is said to have revolted under its nobles. He, however, subdued most of them and compelled them to acknowledge his sovereignty. The names of all the enemies conquered by him have not come down to us; but the most important of them are mentioned in the inscriptions and contemporary Telugu literature.

The first that demands attention was Kācha or Kāśappa Uḍaiya, the chief of Ādavani (Ādoni), whose authority seems to have extended from Ādavani on the Tungabhadrā to Penugonda in the Anantapur district. Kācha was not by himself a dangerous enemy, but his alliance with Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān and the possible friendship with the rebellious Pālaigārs of Ummattur made him formidable. Ever since his treacherous attack upon Narasa Nāyaka in A.D. 1490, Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān had been making attempts to bring the whole of the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-*doāb* under his sway. At his instance, the Bahmani king Mahmūd Shāh persuaded all the assembled nobles of his court to join him and wage a religious war on the infidels of Vijayanagara. The first *jihād*, in accordance with the compact of Bidar, as it was called, took place in A.D. 1502, the last year of the regency of Narasa Nāyaka. The Muslim army met with little or no opposition. Mahmūd Shāh conquered the *doāb* with its two famous strongholds, Rāichur and Mudgal, and handed over the conquered territory to Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān. The acquisition of the *doāb* whetted the appetite of ‘Ādil Khān for more territory, and the usurpation of Vīra Narasimha and the consequent rebellions of the nobles against him, offered a suitable opportunity for realizing his object. He entered into an alliance with Kāśappa Uḍaiya, the governor of the important fort of Ādavani on the Tungabhadrā, and marching at the head of his army into the Vijayanagara territory laid siege to the fort of Kāndanavolu (Kurnool). The object of ‘Ādil Khān was probably to capture Kāndanavolu, and then effect-

ing a junction with Kāśappa Uḍaiya at Ādavani, proceed against Vijayanagara itself along the Tungabhadrā valley. ‘Ādil Khān, however, failed to achieve his object. The Ārevīdu chief, Rāmarāja I, and his son Timma, whom Vīra Narasimha sent against ‘Ādil Khān, inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and as he was retreating hastily towards Ādavani, destroyed his forces again in a battle somewhere in the neighbourhood of that fort and expelled him from Vijayanagara territory. They next invested Ādavani fort and took possession of it. Vīra Narasimha, who was immensely delighted to see the defeat and destruction of his enemies, bestowed Kanḍanavolu and Ādavani on the Ārevīdu princes as fiefs, and decorated Timma with the anklet of the heroes.

Vīra Narasimha next turned his attention to the subjugation of the rebels in the Karnāṭa and Tulu districts of the empire. He at first besieged the fort of Ummattur but failed to take it. He then proceeded against Seringapatam, but the enemy sallied out of the fort and inflicted a defeat on the royal forces with the help of the chiefs of Ummattur and Talakādu. Vīra Narasimha's attempt to force the Karnāṭaka rebels to submit to his authority thus ended in total failure. He was, however, completely successful in dealing with the rebels on the west coast. Having crossed the Ghāts, Vīra Narasimha reduced the whole of Tulu-nāḍ to subjection and took possession of all its ports. He next began to concert measures to renew his campaign in Karnāṭaka, but before he could complete these preparations, he fell ill and died, leaving the task of completing his work to his successor.

Though Vīra Narasimha was continuously engaged in warfare throughout the short period of his reign, he found time to improve the efficiency of his army by introducing certain changes in the methods of recruitment and training of his forces. To improve the condition of his cavalry, he offered tempting prices to horse-dealers and attracted them to Bhaṭkal and other Tuluva ports which he had conquered. The monopoly which the Arab and Persian merchants had enjoyed heretofore was effectively broken by the Portuguese who bore no love for the Muslims. Vīra Narasimha sent one of his ministers to Almeida, the Governor of the Portuguese possessions, and concluded a treaty with them for purchasing all the horses that they imported from abroad. He also recruited all efficient candidates, irrespective of caste or creed, as troopers and trainers. Vīra Narasimha infused warlike spirit among his subjects by encouraging all kinds of military exercises. Men of every social rank and profession became thoroughly war-minded, and cowardice was condemned as the most disgraceful thing among the Rāya's sub-

jects. They delighted in military exercise and flocked to the standards of the Rāya to fight against the Muslims.

Vīra Narasimha took keen interest in the welfare of the *rāyats*. He was ready to listen to their grievances and alleviate their distress as far as possible. One of the important reforms which he introduced to lighten their burden was the abolition of marriage-tax. He was only a pioneer in this respect. The reform which he timidly introduced only in one or two localities was made applicable to almost the whole of the empire by his more illustrious younger brother and successor. The credit of initiating this popular reform, however, belongs really to Vīra Narasimha, though this fact is ignored by historians.

13. KRISHNADEVARĀYA (A.D. 1509-1529)

On the death of Vīra Narasimha, his half-brother Krishṇadevarāya ascended the Diamond Throne. His coronation was celebrated, in all probability, on the *Srī-Jayantī* day of Śaka 1432, corresponding to August 8, 1509. Krishṇadevarāya did not succeed to a peaceful kingdom. Though Vīra Narasimha is said to have destroyed all the rebellious chiefs and confiscated their estates, some of the Pālaigārs were still at large, and the authority of the central government was by no means effective. Moreover, the Gajapati was still in possession of the eastern districts of the empire; and though the Bahmanī kingdom had ceased virtually to exist, the Muslim pressure on the northern frontier had lost none of its old vigour. Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, the founder of the ‘Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpur, had been persistently attempting to extend the boundary of his kingdom at the expense of the Rāya.

(i) *Expedition against the Bahmanī kingdom.*

At the very outset of his reign, Krishṇadeva was involved in war with his neighbours in the north and the north-east. The Bahmanī Sultān, Mahmūd Shāh, in pursuance of the compact of Bīdar, and probably at the instance of Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, declared a *jihād* on the infidels of Vijayanagara towards the end of A.D. 1509;²¹ and he was joined by all the chiefs and nobles who nominally acknowledged his supremacy.

The Bahmanī Sultān marched from his capital at the head of a vast army accompanied by Malik Ahmad Bahrī, Nūrī Khān, Khvāja Jahān, ‘Ādil Khān, Qutb-ul-Mulk, ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, Dastūr-i-Mamālik, Mirza Lutfullāh and other nobles of lesser importance. When the Muslim army arrived at Dony on the Vijayanagara frontier, their progress was checked by the Vijayanagara forces. A fierce engage-

ment took place in which the Bahmanī forces suffered a crushing defeat. The Sultān himself was wounded and his nobles and captains, unable to face the victorious enemy, beat a hasty retreat towards Kovelakonḍa. Krishṇadevarāya did not, however, give up the fight; he pursued the retreating Bahmanī army and forced it to fight another battle in the environs of Kovelakonḍa, which resulted once again in a victory to Vijayanagara. The battle of Kovelakonḍa, was more disastrous in its consequences than Dony to the Bahmanī kingdom. Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān who, since the declaration of virtual independence, had been fomenting trouble for Vijayanagara, was killed in the fight, and the infant state of Bijāpur was thrown into confusion and disorder.

Taking advantage of the anarchic conditions prevailing in Bijāpur, Krishṇadevarāya invaded the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā-doāb and captured Rāichur (A.D. 1512). He then advanced on Gulbarga, and captured the fort after a short seige, having inflicted a severe defeat on Barīd-i-Mamālik and his allies, who were holding the place. He next set out for Bīdar in pursuit of Barīd, and, having defeated him once again in battle, captured the fort. Krishṇarāya then restored Sultān Mahmūd Shāh to power, and assumed, in commemoration of the act, the title of *Yavana-rājya-sthāpan-āchārya*. This was not a whimsical step. Krishṇarāya was not only a great general but a skilful politician. He set the Sultān at liberty and restored him to power, because he wanted to weaken his Muslim neighbours by throwing an apple of discord in their midst. He knew that so long as the shadow of the Bahmanī monarchy persisted, there would be no peace among the Muslim rulers of the Deccan.

(ii) *Subjugation of Ummattur*

Krishṇadevarāya next set out on an expedition against the Pālaigār of Ummattur, who defied his predecessor and was ruling the upper Kāverī valley as an independent prince. The strength of the Pālaigār lay in his possession of the forts of Seringapatam and Śivansamudram, which, situated on islands between two branches of the Kāverī, were considered impregnable. Gaṅgarāja, then ruling the principality, anticipated trouble, transferred his headquarters to Śivansamudram, and strengthened it further by collecting forces and stocking it with ammunition.

Krishṇarāya's campaign against Ummattur lasted for nearly two years. He first laid siege to the fort of Seringapatam and destroyed it; next he proceeded against Śivansamudram and invested it for more than one year. Unable to withstand the siege longer, Gaṅgarāja abandoned the fort and, while fleeing to a place of safety, was drowned in the Kāverī. Krishṇarāya then captured Śivan-

samudram and dismantled its fortifications. He subdued the territory under the sway of the rebel chief and constituted it into a new province with Seringapatam as its headquarters, and having made the necessary arrangement to carry on the administration returned in triumph to his capital.

(iii) *War with Orissa*

Krishnarāya now felt strong enough to declare war upon the Gajapati who had conquered two provinces of Vijayanagara, namely, Udayagiri and Kondavīdu, which Krishnarāya's predecessors failed to recover. Krishnarāya's war against Orissa falls into five definite stages.

(a) The war opened with an attack upon the fort of Udayagiri in the month of January, 1513. Pratāparudra sent a large army to relieve it, but Krishnarāya inflicted a severe defeat on the Oriyas and pursued them as far as Kondavīdu. He now tried to capture the fort of Udayagiri by escalade, but failed on account of its inaccessibility. It could only be reached by a narrow road which allowed only one man to pass at a time. As rocks and boulders prevented large bodies of men from approaching the fort, Krishnarāya cut the rocky hills and broke down many boulders so that the narrow road, which had hitherto been the only means of approach, was greatly widened to enable his men to reach the fort. As a consequence of these operations, the Vijayanagara forces surrounded the fort and erected a wall of circumvallation around it. The Oriyas could hold out no longer and surrendered the fort which was lost to them for ever.

(b) After the fall of Udayagiri, Krishnarāya returned to Vijayanagara, while the army marched into the Kondavīdu province, burning the villages and pillaging the country-side. The Oriya garrisons stationed in various places abandoned their posts and fled in panic to Kondavīdu. The forts of Kandukur, Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgārjunakonda, Tangeda and Ketavaram fell rapidly one after another into the hands of the Rāya. Having completed the subjugation of the forts and the territories dependent upon them, the Vijayanagara army proceeded at last against Kondavīdu and laid siege to it. Kondavīdu was a strong fortress with lofty battlements perched on the top of a hill. Owing to the natural strength of the fort, and the concentration of Oriya noblemen and their troops in it, Sāluva Timma, the Vijayanagara general, could not reduce it to subjection, even after three months. It was at this stage that Krishnadevarāya arrived at the place. The siege operations were pushed on vigor-

ously. The fort was surrounded, and egress and ingress were completely blocked. Krishnaraya ordered several *nāda-chapparams* i.e. wooden platforms to be constructed, and when they were ready, he caused his soldiers to be mounted on them so that they might stand on a level with the defenders and fight with them. Krishnaraya's forces demolished the walls of the fort in some places, and ultimately captured it by escalade. A large number of Oriya noblemen, including Prince Virabhadra, the son and heir of the Gajapati, and one of his queens, were captured and carried away as prisoners of war to Vijayanagara. The fall of Konḍavīdu was followed by the conquest of the coastal region up to the Krishnā.

(c) The army advanced to Bezwada on the Krishnā and laid siege to the fort. Krishnaraya having joined the army once again, the pressure on the fort increased, and, unable to hold out, the defenders delivered the keys into the hands of the Rāya. He next proceeded against Konḍapalli situated on the north bank of the river at a distance of about ten miles to the north-west of Bezwada. While Krishnaraya was engaged with siege operations, the Gajapati Pratāparudra advanced against him with a large army with the object of attacking him in the rear while the garrison of the fort would engage him in the front. Krishnaraya left a part of his forces around the fort and, with the bulk of the army, marched against the Gajapati. While Krishnaraya was attempting to cross a small river in the neighbourhood, the Gajapati attacked him but, in the engagement that ensued, he sustained severe defeat and sought safety in flight. Krishnaraya then returned to his camp under the walls of Konḍapalli, and captured it after a siege lasting for two months.²²

(d) The capture of Bezwada and Konḍapalli was a prelude to the conquest of Telingāna and Veṅgī, both of which now formed part of the kingdom of the Gajapati. The Velama chiefs dominated Telingāna in the 14th and 15th centuries, but a certain Shitāb Khān (i.e. Sītāpati) of Bhogikula, who had recently conquered it from the Muslims, probably with the help of the Gajapati, was ruling over the region. Instead of marching along the coast towards Rājahmundry, Krishnaraya turned westwards and reduced at first all the forts in the Nalgonda and Warangal districts. Reaching the Godāvarī he turned towards the east and marched along the banks of the river towards Rājahmundry. The Gajapati made one more attempt to check the progress of the invader. The Vijayanagara army had to pass through defiles in the hills. Shitāb Khān, at the instance of the Gajapati, occupied the passes with 60,000 archers, and attacked the invaders fiercely. Krishnaraya commanded his cavalry to climb the hills on both the sides and attack Shitāb Khān's

men from behind. This manoeuvre produced the desired result. Unable to resist this unexpected attack, Shitāb Khān's men fled in confusion, pursued by Vijayanagara forces, until they took refuge in a neighbouring fort. Krishnarāya left 30,000 infantry to guard the passes and marched forward with his remaining forces. He reached Rājahmundry which he captured without difficulty. Then he reduced the whole of Veṅgi to subjection, and having established his authority in all the cities of the land, he proceeded towards Simhāchalam, devastating the country all along the route. He set up a pillar of victory at Poṭnur, offered worship to God Simhādrinātha, and leaving behind his army there, returned to Vijayanagara.

(e) Notwithstanding the series of defeats suffered by him, and the consequent loss of territory, the Gajapati was not inclined to come to terms. Krishnarāya therefore resolved to conquer Cuttack, the Gajapati's capital, and his army advanced to the city.²³ According to the *Rāyavāchakam*, which gives a fairly detailed account of the expedition, the Gajapati was induced by a wicked stratagem to sue for peace. According to Nuniz, what induced the Gajapati to ask for peace was the suicide of his son and heir Virabhadra who was in captivity at Vijayanagara. However that may be, a treaty of peace was at last concluded in A.D. 1518, according to the terms of which, the Gajapati gave his daughter in marriage to Krishnadevarāya, and obtained from him in return all the territory north of the Krishnā conquered by him during the war. Thus ended one of the most brilliant episodes in the military history of India in the 16th century.

(iv) War with Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golkonda.

The defeat and discomfiture of the Gajapati brought into prominence a new enemy, the Qutb Shāhī ruler of Telingāna. Qulī Qutb Shāh was no friend of the Hindus of Karṇāṭaka; he was ambitious and was desirous of making himself the master of Telugu country. While Krishnarāya was busy with his Orissa war, he attacked some of the forts, specially Pangal and Guntur in the Vijayanagara frontier, and conquered them. After his defeat at the hands of Krishnarāya, the Gajapati lost his power and prestige, and Qulī Qutb Shāh took advantage of it to wrest from Shitāb Khān, mentioned above, Warangal, Kambhammet and other forts in his possession. Next he invaded the coastal region, took possession of Konḍapalli, Ellore and Rājahmundry and compelled the Gajapati to cede to him the whole of the territory between the mouths of the Krishnā and Godāvari. After this conquest he could not resist the temptation of making inroads into the Vijayanagara territory. Tak-

ing advantage of the departure of Krishṇarāya to Chatuir in order to subdue the chief who was in revolt for fifty years, Qulī Qutb Shāh marched at the head of an army to Koṇḍavīdu and laid siege to the fort. Sāluva Timma, whom Krishṇarāya had appointed the governor of the place, was absent at Vijayanagara, and Nādindla Gopa, his nephew, who was in charge of the place, was not able to repel the enemy. As soon as Krishṇarāya returned to his capital, he despatched Sāluva Timma, with 200,000 men to Koṇḍavīdu to drive away the invader. On his arrival at Koṇḍavīdu, Sāluva Timma defeated the Qutb Shāhī army and took the commander, Madar-ul-Mulk, and his officers prisoners and sent them to Vijayanagara. He remained in the province for some time, making arrangements for its defence and administration, and then returned to the capital.²⁴

(v) *War with Bijāpur*

It has been mentioned above, that Krishṇadevarāya captured the fort of Rāichur from Isma‘il ‘Ādil Khān in A.D. 1512 during his minority when Kamāl Khān was the regent of the kingdom. Isma‘il did not, however, reconcile himself to the loss of the fort and, together with it, the mastery over the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā-*doāb*. Therefore, when he came to power after the overthrow of Kamāl Khān, he took advantage of Krishṇadevarāya’s preoccupation with the Orissan and other wars on the east coast, and invaded the *doāb* and captured Rāichur.²⁵ In A.D. 1520, as soon as Sāluva Timma returned to the capital from Koṇḍavīdu, he set out at the head of a large army, and laid siege to Rāichur. Isma‘il ‘Ādil Khān hastened towards the *doāb* with all his forces, crossed the Krishnā, and established himself in an entrenched camp near the village of Gobbur. A fierce engagement took place in which the Bijāpurīs sustained a crushing defeat; large numbers were massacred and many were drowned in the river while attempting to escape. Isma‘il ‘Ādil Khān fled precipitately from the field, abandoning his camp and war equipment to be plundered by the victorious Vijayanagara forces.

The defeat and flight of ‘Ādil Khān from the battlefield did not end the war. The Bijāpur garrison, defending the fort of Rāichur, did not surrender, but held out obstinately, protected by the strong fortifications of the city. Krishṇarāya, however, persisted; and with the help of a band of Portuguese musketeers in his service, he succeeded in making a breach in the outer fortifications. There was dismay in the city and people rushed into the citadel for refuge. The commandant of the fort, who came out to pacify the people, was

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shot dead while inspecting the breach caused by the enemy; and on the death of their leader the garrison submitted and surrendered the fortress.

As soon as Krishṇadevarāya returned to Vijayanagara after the capture of Rāichur, an ambassador of Isma'il 'Ādil Khān arrived at his court, protesting against the unprovoked attack, as he termed it, upon his master's kingdom and requesting that all that had been taken from him in the recent war, including the fort of Rāichur, might be restored to him. Krishṇarāya promised to comply with 'Ādil Khān's request, provided that the latter would pay homage to him by kissing his feet. On being informed of this, the 'Ādil Khān agreed to do so, and it was arranged that the ceremony should take place at Mudgal on the frontier between the two kingdoms. But when Krishṇarāya reached Mudgal, he did not find Isma'il 'Ādil Khān there. Enraged at the slight put upon him, Krishṇadeva crossed the frontier and advanced upon Bijāpur to chastise him. 'Ādil Khān fled from his capital in panic; and Krishṇarāya entered his enemy's capital without opposition, and occupied the royal palace for several days. Though it was not Krishṇarāya's intention to sack Bijāpur, the city was considerably damaged by his troops. The Bijāpurīs, in desperation, drained the two tanks supplying water to the city; and owing to the scarcity of water, Krishṇarāya was obliged to retire from the city and return to his kingdom.

Isma'il 'Ādil Khān made another attempt to come to an understanding with the Rāya; but the treachery of Asad Khān Larī, the lord of Belgaum, whom he had chosen as his ambassador, frustrated his attempt. Asad Khān, who volunteered to go on the mission to secure the ruin of his rival Salābat Khān who was in captivity at Vijayanagara, told the Rāya that the failure of 'Ādil Khān to meet him at Mudgal, as arranged by the former ambassador, was due to Salābat Khān's machinations. Krishṇadevarāya, believing the treacherous ambassador, ordered Salābat's execution. After accomplishing his real object, Asad Khān fled secretly from the Rāya's camp, lest his treachery should be discovered. Krishṇarāya, incensed at the conduct of 'Ādil Khān's ambassador, marched at the head of his army into the Bijāpur kingdom, burning and plundering the country-side as he proceeded. He captured Firūzābād and Hasanābād, but, when he arrived at the city of Sagar, his way was blocked by a large army. A great battle was fought, the Bijāpurīs suffered a crushing defeat, and a terrific carnage ensued. Two other sanguinary battles were fought, one at Shorāpur, and another at Kembā, both in the Gulbarga district, and the Bijāpur armies suffered defeat. At last Krishṇadevarāya reached Gulbarga, and

laid siege to the ancient capital of the Bahamanīs for the second time. The enemy troops once again gathered strength and attacked the besiegers, but were again defeated. The city was soon captured and, in the words of Nuniz, it was destroyed and the fortress was razed to the ground.

Kṛishṇarāya's victory over Isma'il 'Ādil Khān was complete. He was personally inclined to continue the war against 'Ādil Khān, but, on the advice of the Council of Ministers which he considered wise and prudent, he resolved to give up hostilities and return to his kingdom. Before he started upon his return march, he placed, on the ancestral throne, the eldest of the three sons of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh II, whom 'Ādil Khān had kept in confinement in the fort of Gulbarga; and took the other two with him to Vijayanagara where he kept them in safety, bestowing an annual pension of fifty thousand gold *paradaos* on each of them. This step was prompted by motives of policy. The continuance of the Bahmanī monarchy, even in a shadowy form, was a source of potential danger to the stability of the new Deccani Muslim states; and if 'Ādil Khān or any other Muslim ruler of the Deccan imprisoned or made away with the prince whom he set upon the throne, he held the other two in reserve to make use of them, as he deemed fit, in any new situation that might arise in the future.

(vi) *Rebellion of Sāluva Timma (Jr.)*

With the close of the Gulbarga campaign, Kṛishṇarāya's foreign wars came to an end. He would have ruled in peace during the remaining years of his reign, but for an untoward incident which led to the outbreak of a rebellion in the eastern provinces of the empire. Kṛishṇarāya had no male issue for a long time. At last, Tirumaladevī, his chief queen, gave birth to a son called Tirumala-deva-Mahārāya in A.D. 1518-19. After his return from Gulbarga, Kṛishṇarāya, who was already advanced in years, desirous of ensuring the succession of his young son after his death, abdicated the throne, and having crowned the young prince, assumed the office of the Prime Minister and carried on the administration in the name of the prince. This young prince unfortunately fell ill after a reign of eight months and died. After the death of the prince, Kṛishṇarāya learnt that the death of his son was due to poison administered to him by Timma Dañḍanāyaka, son of his great minister Sāluva Timmarasa. In his anger, Kṛishṇarāya believed that the report he heard about the death of his son was true; he seized Timmarasa, his son Timma Dañḍanāyaka, and his younger brother Sāluva Guṇḍarāja, and immured them in prison where they remain-

ed for three years. At the end of the period Timma Dañḍanāyaka escaped from prison and, having repaired to Gooty or Konḍaviḍu where his cousins Nandendla Appa and Gopa were ruling respectively as governors, set up the standard of rebellion. Kṛishṇarāya could not easily suppress the rebellion. The royal forces appear to have suffered some reverses. At last Rayasam Ayyaparasa, one of the King's ministers who was sent against him with a large army, defeated Timma Dañḍanāyaka and carried him away to Vijayanagara as a prisoner. Kṛishṇarāya then ordered that Sāluva Timmarasa, and his son Timma Dañḍanāyaka should be blinded and sent back to their prison. The king's orders were promptly carried out. Timma Dañḍanāyaka died; and his father and younger brother both languished in prison.

(vii) *Selection of Achyuta as Successor*

The problem of succession seems to have engaged the attention of Krishnadevarāya during the last years of his reign. Though he had a son, eighteen months old, and a nephew, the son of his elder brother, Vira Narasimha, he passed over both of them because he considered that neither was fit to sit upon the throne. Of his two half-brothers, Raṅga and Achyuta, the former predeceased him, leaving behind a son called Sadāśiva. He ignored Sadāśiva, and set free Achyuta from his prison at Chandragiri and selected him as his successor. Krishnadevarāya seems to have fallen ill about the end of A.D. 1529 and died soon after, deeply mourned by his subjects all over the empire. He was, according to his wishes, succeeded by Achyuta, whose coronation was celebrated early in the next year.

(viii) *Krishnadevarāya and the Portuguese*

Krishnadevarāya maintained friendly relation with the Portuguese. He found it advantageous to cultivate their friendship, because it enabled him to secure horses for his army without which he could not have waged war successfully on the Bahmanī kingdom. The Portuguese, having defeated the Arab and the Persian merchants and destroyed the Egyptian navy, established virtual monopoly over the trade in Arab and Persian horses on which depended the strength of the medieval Indian armies.²⁶ It was of utmost importance that Krishnadevarāya should obtain their goodwill and persuade them to sell him all the horses which they imported from abroad. The Portuguese, on their side, were equally anxious to secure Kṛishṇarāya's favour so that they might obtain facilities for trade in the numerous towns and cities of the empire. With the accession, therefore, of Krishnadevarāya, there ensued a

period of intimate intercourse between Vijayanagara and Portugal, and large numbers of Portuguese travellers, merchants and adventurers flocked to the Hindu capital and sought favours from the Rāya and his courtiers. In spite of his desire to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese, Krishṇadevarāya never lent support to their political designs. Though he congratulated Affonso d' Albuquerque on his conquest of the fort of Goa from the ruler of Bijāpur, he declined to enter into an alliance with them against the Zamorin of Calicut. When in A.D. 1523, the Portuguese conquered the mainland near Goa, he sent a small force under his minister Sāluva Timma against them. The expedition was a failure, and Sāluva Timma, being repulsed, had to beat a hasty retreat. Krishṇarāya was not unaware of the fighting qualities of the Portuguese. Why he sent against them only a small force, quite inadequate for the purpose, is far from clear. Krishṇarāya probably had no intention to wage war seriously on the Portuguese. He seems to have despatched the expedition not so much to effect any territorial conquest as to notify his protest against the Portuguese aggressions on the mainland. The short interlude of war, however, was soon forgotten, and as soon as the war clouds lifted away, normal relations of friendship were resumed.

(ix) *Krishṇadevarāya as a warrior and general*

Krishṇadevarāya was famous both as a warrior and general. He believed like most of his contemporaries, that the proper place of a monarch on the battlefield was at the head of his forces. His prowess was well known; he led his armies personally, fought in the front line of the battle, and won the respect of his friends and foes alike. He was a great general, who knew how to win victories under the most discouraging circumstances. He knew no defeat. Whenever he took the command of his armies in person, he was uniformly victorious, and he invariably swept away the forces arrayed against him on the battlefield. His triumphant armies entered the capitals of his enemies, and planted the boar-standard on the battlements of Cuttack, Bidar, Gulbarga and Bijāpur. His success must be ascribed to his capacity for organization and the extraordinary skill which he displayed in leading his forces. He showed amazing resourcefulness in overcoming obstacles besetting his path. He smashed rocks and boulders for making a road for his soldiers to reach the fort of Udayagiri, set up movable wooden platforms around Konḍavīdu to enable his men to fight on an equal footing with the garrison defending the fort, cut canals to drain the waters of a river swollen with floods to seize the stronghold of the rebel chief of Chatuir, and put to the sword his own soldiers who

turned their backs on the enemy at Raichur, and converted a disaster into a brilliant victory. But even more than his personal bravery or his skilful management of troops, what enabled him to overthrow hostile forces was the devotion and attachment of his soldiers to his person. Krishṇarāya was accustomed, after the conclusion of every battle, to go about the battlefield, looking for the wounded; he would pick them up and make arrangements to give them medical help and other conveniences needed for their recovery. Those that specially distinguished themselves in the fight were placed directly under his supervision so that he might bestow particular attention on them and help them to regain their health as quickly as possible. The care with which Krishnadevarāya nourished the wounded soldiers and warriors did not go unrewarded. It won him the affection of the rank and file of his army. The soldiers as well as officers were prepared to throw themselves into the jaws of death in executing his commands.

(x) *Krishnadevarāya as an administrator*

In spite of his incessant military activities, Krishnadevarāya paid considerable attention to the civil administration of the empire. The field of the executive authority in a Hindu State was, of course, limited by the activities of the local and communal institutions. Nevertheless, the Rāya and his ministers had much to do by way of check and supervision. The maladministration of the provincial governors and officials and the capacity of the *Amaranāyakas* demanded considerable vigilance. To redress the grievances of the *ryots* and punish the evil-doers, Krishṇarāya, following the practice of his predecessors, was in the habit of touring the empire of Vijayanagara every year, when he came into personal contact with his subjects and listened to their complaints and petitions. He took considerable interest in constructing irrigation tanks and digging canals to provide water for agricultural operations. He also abolished some of the vexatious taxes such as the marriage fee, and this gave immense relief to all classes of his subjects. He ordered deforestation in many parts of the country, and augmented the revenue of the State by bringing fresh land under cultivation.

Krishnadevarāya was a great builder. Much of his building activity was confined to Nāgalāpur, a new town founded by him near Vijayanagara, where he built many beautiful mansions and temples. Besides some temples in the capital, he was also responsible for the construction of many new structures in the provinces. The thousand-pillared *mantapas* and the *rāya-gopurams*, which characterize the country-side in south India, were largely built during his reign.

(xi) *Kṛishṇadevarāya as a patron of art and letters*

Kṛishṇadevarāya was a munificent patron of art and letters. All the famous artists were in his employ to decorate his palaces and temples. His fame as a patron of letters spread far and wide. He was known as the Andhra-Bhoja, and, true to his name, he never failed to load with presents the numerous scholars, poets, philosophers and theologians that flocked to his court in search of patronage. Though Kṛishṇarāya extended his patronage to the writers in all languages, Sanskrit as well as the South Indian vernaculars, he specially favoured Telugu, and contributed much to the development of its literature. The Augustan age of Telugu literature, which began with the accession of Sāluva Narasimha, burst forth in full splendour in the reign of Kṛishṇadevarāya, and his court became the centre of light and learning in the country. Himself a poet, the author of the *Amukta-mālyada*, one of the greatest poems in the language, he loved to surround himself with poets and men of letters. His literary court was adorned by a group of eight eminent Telugu poets called the *Aṣṭadiggajas* or the elephants supporting the eight cardinal points of the literary world. Apart from his great encouragement to the Telugu poets and men of letters of his day, Kṛishṇadevarāya rendered an important service to the cause of Telugu literature which had far-reaching consequences. He created the ideal of a scholar-king, one of whose important duties was to protect poets and men of letters and foster the growth of language and literature. It was recognized ever since by all the Telugu monarchs that one of their principal duties as rulers was to patronize Telugu poets and learned men and encourage the growth of literature. As a consequence, notwithstanding the numerous political changes through which the country passed, learning flourished without hindrance, and Telugu literature became what it is at present, owing to the patronage of the generations of princes and chiefs who bore sway over the land.

APPENDIX

Two problems in connection with the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara call for a detailed notice. The first pertains to the national affiliations of the founders of the Vijayanagara empire. Scholars who had hitherto worked on this subject may be divided into two groups sharply opposed to each other. Some are of opinion that Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the empire, were refugees from Tiling, who fled from the court of their sovereign, Pratāparudra of Warangal, when that monarch was taken prisoner by the armies of the Sultān of Delhi. They established themselves at Anegonḍi on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā, and with the help of a sage called Vidyāraṇya laid the foundations of a new city, Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara, on the opposite bank of the river. This view is based on tradition derived exclusively from Kannada sources. Though unsupported by direct contemporary evidence, it is not inconsistent and unworthy of credence. Others reject the tradition completely and hold that the founders of Vijayanagara were Karnāṭakas, subordinates of the Hoysala monarch Ballāla III, who were posted to the northern marches of his kingdom to defend it against the attacks of Musulmāns, a task which they are said to have discharged to the satisfaction of their master, and stood forth as the champions of the Hindu civilization. On the death of Ballāla III and his son Ballāla IV, they are supposed to have quietly ascended the vacant throne, and ruled the erstwhile Hoysala dominions without opposition. Though espoused with enthusiasm by some eminent South Indian epigraphists and historians, this view seems to be based not on facts but on gratuitous assumptions and false identifications which need not be discussed here.

The account given in the *Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna* and *Vidyāraṇya-Vṛittānta* may be summed up as follows: "Harihara and Bukka, who were in the service of the Kākatīya monarch Pratāparudra as the custodians of the royal treasury, fled from Warangal to Kampili, when the army of the Sultān of Delhi carried their master away to his capital as a prisoner of war, and took refuge with Rāmanātha, the heroic son of the Rāya of Kampili. A few years later, when Sultān Muhammad captured Kampili, putting to death the Rāya and his son, they were taken prisoners and carried away to Delhi. The Sultān, impressed by their upright conduct, soon set them at liberty and, appointing them as rulers of Karnāṭaka, sent them over to the South with an army to suppress the rebellion of Ballāla and take possession of the country from him. They crossed the river Krishnā by means of boats, but suffered a defeat at the hands of Ballāla whom they encountered somewhere on the southern bank of the river. They wandered southwards, and met the famous sage Vidyāraṇya at Hampi on the Tuṅgabhadrā. Following the advice of the sage they gathered together a force and, having defeated Ballāla in battle, they established themselves at Anegonḍi and began to rule the kingdom of Karnāṭaka." An important detail

left out in these two works is furnished by *Keṭadinripavijayam*, according to which Harihara and Bukka, during their sojourn at the court of Kampilirāya, contracted marriage alliances with the Kurubas, the tribe to which the Rāya himself belonged.

So much about tradition. The contemporary Muslim historians Ziyā-ud-dīn Barānī and ‘Isāmī briefly allude to what happened at Kampili after its annexation by Muhammad bin Tughluq. A relation of the Rāya of Kampili, whom the Sultān appointed the governor of the province, rose up in rebellion at the time of Kanya (Kāpaya) Nāyaka's attack on Warangal, and having apostatized from Islām, declared his independence; he then set out on an expedition of conquest and reduced the whole of Karnātaka from Gooti to Ma'bar to subjection. This apostate, according to Firishta, was originally converted to Islām from Hinduism by Sultān Muhammad himself. Inscriptions of the period also throw considerable light on the subject. The earliest record, which demands notice here, is an epigraph dated A.D. 1314 from Gozalavīdu in the Nellore district in the south of the Andhra coastal country, in which Bukka, one of the founders of Vijayanagara, is referred to as the ruler of the locality. Though this record does not mention any superior to whom he was subordinate, the date and the locality where it is found clearly indicate that he must have been a subject of the Kākatiya Pratāparudra whose sway extended all over the east coast down to Kāñchī in the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. The inscriptions of Harihara's reign show that he was ruling the territory comprising south-eastern Telugu country and the northern Karnātaka as an independent monarch from A.D. 1336, and that his brother and co-regent, Bukka, defeated Ballāla IV within a few months of the death of his father, Ballāla III, in A.D. 1344, and annexed the Hoysala dominions to his new kingdom.

Now, taking into consideration the evidence of tradition, the Muslim historians, and the inscriptions, it may be stated that the founders of Vijayanagara were at first in the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal, and that when that monarch was defeated by Muhammad bin Tughluq and taken prisoner, they fled to Kampili and took refuge in the court of Kampilideva. They were, however, captured by the Sultān after the sack of Kampili in A.D. 1326, and were carried away to Delhi where they were forcibly converted to Islām. On the outbreak of a rebellion in Kampili and the collapse of the provincial government, they were released by the Sultān from prison and sent with an army to Kampili to reconquer it from the rebels and rule the province as his deputies. This they successfully accomplished; but they did not long remain loyal to the Sultān. They came under the influence of Vidyārāya who persuaded them to renounce Islām, and threw in their lot with the Andhra nationalists who had just then succeeded, under the leadership of Kāpaya, in expelling the Musulmāns and re-establishing their national independence. Harihara and Bukka then reverted to their ancient faith and, having declared their independence, assumed the leadership of the Hindus of Kampili in their fight against the Musulmāns.

The second problem concerns the origin of the city of Vijayanagara. The evidence on the subject is divergent. Tradition,

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embodied in the *Vidyāranya-Kālajñāna* and works of this description, attributes the foundation of the city to Vidyāranya, and Vidyānagara, the alternative name by which the city was known, lends colour to the tradition. The inscriptions of Harihara I and his successors, which narrate the circumstances in which the city was founded, do not at all mention Vidyāranya in this connection. They refer either to Harihara I or Bukka I as the builder of the city of victory.²⁷ The conflicting character of the evidence has, no doubt, given rise to much speculation; and several theories have been put forward to explain the circumstances under which the city was founded. Tradition has been, as usual, rejected as utterly untrustworthy, and Vidyāranya is treated as a person of no consequence. All the inscriptions which refer to the city as Vidyānagara are declared to be spurious, being forged by the wily monks of the Advaitamāṭha at Śringerī. The part played by Harihara I in the construction of the new city is also discounted; and the credit of building it is exclusively given to Bukka I. Such a theory ignores the following facts, clearly established by a careful examination of the contemporary records:

(1) Vijayanagara was functioning as the capital of the new kingdom from at least A.D. 1344, some ten years before the death of Harihara I; (2) Bukka I was associated with his brother in the administration of the kingdom as his co-regent at least from A.D. 1344; and (3) Vidyāranya was the adviser, in spiritual as well as temporal affairs, of the first three kings of Vijayanagara, namely, Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. It is highly improbable that Vidyāranya, Harihara I, and Bukka, who were responsible for the foundation and the government of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, should have built the new capital without consulting one another. On the whole the following seems to be the most logical inference from facts known so far on reliable authority:

The idea that a new city should be built around the Hemakūṭa hill had originated in the mind of Vidyāranya. He commanded his royal disciples, Harihara and Bukka, to give material shape to the idea. They obeyed his command. Harihara entrusted to his brother the task of constructing the city. Accepting the orders of his *guru* and his sovereign, Bukka erected the new city. The testimony of tradition and inscriptions is not only not contradictory but complementary. Vidyāranya supplied the idea; Harihara gave the necessary sanction; and Bukka carried it into execution. The city of Vidyānagara was thus built by all the three, Vidyāranya, Harihara and Bukka.²⁸

1. See above pp. 75-77.

1a. See appendix at the end of this chapter.

1b. The name is also spelt as Kampana.

1c. See above, p. 234.

1d. Though nothing is known of Ballāla IV, subsequent to his coronation, from the epigraphic sources, the contemporary Deccan Muslim historian, 'Isāmī, refers to a Balāl who was living at Pattan on the west coast at the time of 'Alāud-dīn Hasan Gangū's invasion in A.D. 1348. 'Balāl' mentioned in the couplet must have been identical with Ballāla IV, as there was no other person bearing that name at that time.

2. 115 of 1901, SII. VII. 303.

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3. N. Venkataramanayya, 'Muslim Historians on Muhammad Shāh Bahmānī I's war with Vijayanagara'. *ABORI*, XXVIII, 1-13.
- 3a. For the date and details of the campaign against Madurā cf. pp. 235-6.
4. The Alampundi grant of Virūpāksha refers to his reconquest of Tuṇḍīra, Chola, and Pāndya countries (*ARE*. 1899, Para. 55, *EI*. III, pp. 224-30). In the prologue to his two Sanskrit plays, the *Nārāyanīvilāsam* and *Unmattarāghavam*, he calls himself the lord of Karnāṭa, Tuṇḍīra, Chola and Pāndya monarchs, and the planter of victory in Simhala (*Sources*, p. 35).
5. The Viragal set up at Goa on Wednesday, 29 August, 1380, by Mudda Nayaka, a servant of Mahāpradhāna Mallappa Vodya, the governor of Haive (*Jr. Mythic. Soc.* XIX, pp. 27-28) shows clearly that Goa must have been conquered by Vijayanagara some time before that date.
6. No other king of Vijayanagara is known to have conquered Sapta-Konkanas. This is corroborated by the evidence of Nuniz who states that Ajaraō (i.e. Harihara II) 'was always at war with the Moors; and he took Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull, and Ceillao, and all the country of Charamandell' (*Sewell Forgotten Empire*, p. 301).
7. *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Copper plate, No. 1.
- 7a. Chapter XIII, E.
8. *EI*. XXVI. p. 14 ff.
9. Firishta, no doubt, states that Firūz Shāh's brother, Khān-i-Khānān, expelled, after repeated battles, Vijayanagara army from the dominions of the Sultān (Briggs, Ferishta, II, 391). This is, however, highly improbable; for in the first place, this fact is not mentioned by other Muslim historians; and secondly, the ill-will that existed between the brothers since the arrival of Gisū Darāz, and the Khān-i-Khānān's designs upon the throne must have prevented him from lending a helping hand to the Sultān.
10. Gopinatha Row believes that Vijaya ruled for a period of six months (*EI*. XV. p. 14), and Venkoba Rao agrees with him (*ARE*. 1921, Part II, para 48). Sewell assigns to him a very short reign of a few months (*List. Ins.* p. 214). Hayavadana Row is more liberal; he increases the period of his rule to two years. What is more interesting still is that he cites the evidence of a record of the reign of Devarāya II, dated Ś. 1325 (A.D. 1403-4) to prove that Vijaya died in that year (*MYS. Gaz.* New Edition, Vol. II, pt. iii, p. 1560). The record in question (*EC*, VIII. TL. 163) however has no bearing on the subject. The donor of the grant registered therein was not Devarāya II but Vitthappa Dannāyaka, one of his officers, who grants a village to Brahmins for the attainment to Śivaloka of his father.
11. *TA*, III (Eng. Tr.), p. 44. This is in agreement with Firishta's account (Briggs II, 400). Tabātabā places the invasion before Khalf Hasan's conquests in Konkan and the Sultān's expedition to Kherla to help Narsing Rāya (*IA*, XXVIII, 211).
12. According to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* (*BK*, 51), Ahmad Shāh transferred the capital of his kingdom from Gulbarga to Bidar, "in the month of Rajab in the second year of his reign (June, 1423)"; but Firishta states that Sultān Ahmad Shāh laid the foundations of his new capital while returning from his Kherla expedition in 830 A.H. (A.D. 1426) (Briggs II, 411). In the *Tazkirāt-ul-Muluk* of Rafi-ud-dīn Shirāzī, it is said that Ahmad Shāh, who ascended the throne in 830 A.H., founded in the very same year his new capital of Muhammādābād-Bidar (*IA*, XXVIII, 218). As Ahmad Shāh's accession took place in 825 A.H. (A.D. 1422), he must have shifted his capital from Gulbarga in that year. The latest date for the foundation of the new Bahmānī capital is furnished by Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad. Though he agrees with Firishta that Sultān Ahmad Shāh built his capital while returning from his Kherla expedition, he assigns its foundation to 832 A.H. (A.D. 1428-29) (*TA*, Eng. Tr. III, 51-53). The evidence is thus conflicting. However as the dates furnished by the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* are more reliable than those of Firishta, I am inclined to accept A.D. 1423 as the correct date for the foundation of the new capital.
13. *SII*. VII. 202.
14. *Further Sources*. I, p. 107.
15. 26-29 of 1937-38.
16. In the *Gangādāsa-pratāpa-vilāsam* (*Sources*, 25), it is said that on the accession of young Mallikārjuna after the death of his father Pratāpadevarāya II, the Dakshina Suratrāna and the Gajapati, both of whom were defeated on a former occasion by the latter, came together and invested the city of Vijayanagara. Now, the Gajapati who came with the Dakshina Suratrāna

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to invest Vijayanagara was Kapilendra. The defeat which he sustained at the hands of Devarāya II was inflicted during Mallappa Udaiyar's expedition in A.D. 1443-44. The presence of the Vijayanagara armies in the Godāvarī delta is indicated by an epigraph at Drākshārāmam dated A.D. 1444, and as the record registers a gift for the merit of Mallappa Udaiyar made by a Vira Balañja merchant guild at the instance of Allaya Vema and his brother Virabhadra, it is certain that he came there to help them (*SII. IV.* 1375, Mac. Mss. 15-4-4, p. 164).

17. 23 of 1905, 476 of 1921, 161 of 1906; EC, III, i, Srirang 107, all dated in A.D. 1446-47 refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya II. He is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the time of Devarāya II. In A.D. 1441 he was holding some position of responsibility in the Konḍavidurājya (ARE. 420 of 1915). Earlier he was ruling in the Rāyadurga-rājya from his capital Penugonda. According to a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1435, registering the gift of a village made by him to a Vaishnava scholar named Lakshmidharārya, he was a younger brother of Devarāya II and was known also as Devarāya, and his capital was the city of Ghanaśaila (Penugonda). From the fact that the village granted was renamed as Pratāpadevarāyapuram after him, it is certain that Vijaya II was also known as Pratāpadevarāya (MAR, 1921, Para 62). It is interesting to note that, according to the Śrisailam plates of Virūpāksha II, his father, Pratāpadevarāya, who was also a younger brother of Devarāya II, obtained from his elder brother i.e. Devarāya II, the Ghandrirājya (*Sources*, No. 26). From this it appears that Pratāpadevarāya alias Vijaya, and Pratāpadevarāya, the father of Virūpāksha, are identical.
18. *Further Sources*, II, No. 68.
19. This was probably due to the fact that his great-grandfather Devarāya I had the title Praudha prefixed to his name in some of his inscriptions.
20. See Ch. XIII, B, Orissa, note 8a, for a different view.
- 20a. It is generally held that the Gajapati king Kapilendra died in A.D. 1467 when his son Purushottama ascended the throne (cf. Ch. XIII B). Dr. Venkataramanayya, the author of this Chapter, who has discussed this question at some length in *PAIOC*, VIII. 585-99, holds the view that Kapilendra ruled jointly with his son Purushottama till A.D. 1470 when he died. (Ed.).
21. See *Further Sources*, I, 189-196, and *JOR*, Vol. X, pp. 158 ff., for a discussion of the date and detailed description of the incidents of the war.
22. See *Further Sources*, I, 204 note.
23. Scholars differ in their opinion as to whether Krishnadevarāya conquered Cuttack or not. For discussion of this problem see *Further Sources*, I, 209-211, and P. Mukherjee, *Gajapati Kings*, 93-95. (Ed.).
24. A different account of this war is given in the *Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh*, which was written some time after the death of the monarch in A.D. 1611. This work is utterly unreliable, as it is contradicted by the inscriptions of Krishnadevarāya and other indubitable contemporary records. Some of the incidents mentioned in the *Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh* might have been based on facts; but the chronology is false. The contemporary evidence of Nuniz has greater claim on our credence than the later chronicle.
25. *Further Sources*, I, 211-13.
26. See Ch. XIII, E.
27. One school of Vijayanagara historians, taking their stand on the statement of Firishta that Ballāla III built the city, Bijangar, called after his son Bejan Ray, near his northern frontier on the way of the armies of Delhi, contend that Ballāla III was the real founder of Vijayanagara. But, Firishta wrote his history in the beginning of the 17th century A.D. His account of Vijayanagara is not authentic and incorporates into it much of the gossip which he heard in the bazars of Bijāpur. As he relates two stories totally opposed to each other about the origin of Vijayanagara, his evidence need not be taken into consideration in the present context.
28. K. A. N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya: *Further Sources*, I, 58.

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Vol. VII



BOMBAY
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

CHAPTER XV

VIJAYANAGARA

N. Venkataramanyya

Achyutadevarāya (1530-1542)

The history of Vijayanagara up to the death of Krishṇadevarāya (1509-29) has been discussed in the preceding Volume (pp. 271-325). As mentioned above (Vol. VI. p. 317), he chose as his successor Achyutadevarāya, his half-brother, in preference to his infant son and other legitimate candidates. This sowed the seed of dissension which troubled Achyuta almost throughout his reign.

Rāmarāya (also called Rāmarājā), the son-in-law of Krishṇadevarāya, proclaimed the infant son of the latter as Emperor, and began to rule over the empire in his name. Rāmarāya's attempt to seize the capital was, however, foiled by Sāluva Narasimharāya Dāṇḍanāyaka, the prime minister of Krishṇadevarāya at the time of his death, who took possession of it in the name of Achyuta and held it for him until his arrival from Chandragiri. Achyuta, however, found it advantageous to placate Rāmarāya; and therefore after reaching the capital and celebrating his coronation he entered into an agreement with Rāmarāya according to which he took the latter as his partner in the administration of the empire. This estranged from the King Sāluva Narasimharāya Dāṇḍanāyaka, who retired to the Chola country of which he was the Governor, and entering into a conspiracy with the chiefs of Ummattūr and Tiruvadi stirred up a rebellion in the south. Achyuta was obliged to march at the head of his army against the rebel Sāluva Narasimharāya who opposed the royal army and was defeated; he fled to Travancore and took refuge with his ally, the Tiruvadi. The royal army under the command of Achyuta's brother-in-law, Salakarāju Tirumala, pursued him thither and having inflicted a defeat on the Tiruvadi compelled him to submit and surrender the arch-rebel Narasimharāya Dāṇḍanāyaka whom they carried as a prisoner of war. Achyuta returned to Vijayanagara by way of Ummattūr and Śrīrangam where he received the submission of the local chiefs. Shortly after this the death of the infant son of Krishṇadevarāya eased the political situation and Achyuta invaded Bijāpur and recovered the Rāichur *doab*. But while Achyuta was engaged in suppressing some rebellion, Rāmarāya removed all the old servants of the crown from positions of responsibility and appointed his own kinsmen and friends in their

place. He took also into his service 3,000 Muslim soldiers whom Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh discharged from his service on his accession to the throne in 1535. Feeling confident of his power, he seized Achyuta as soon as he returned from Tirupati, and cast him in prison. Though at first he proclaimed himself as the king, the opposition of the nobles forced him to abandon his scheme. He then proclaimed Achyuta's young nephew, Sadāshiva, emperor and began to rule in his name. Rāmarāya's usurpation was not accepted by all the subjects of the kingdom. The nobles in the extreme south of the empire refused to acknowledge his authority and withheld the payment of tribute. He was therefore obliged to lead an expedition to bring them back to subjection; but the campaign was protracted and he became involved in a long tedious war without any chance of success. In his absence, the officer whom he entrusted with the government of the capital and the custody of Achyuta turned traitor; and having set him at liberty and restored him to power assumed the office of the prime minister. He was, however, murdered soon by Salakarāju Tirumala, who then took possession of the government and began to rule the country in the name of his brother-in-law.

It has already been related above (p. 450) how Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur seized the opportunity and invaded Vijayanagara and how he composed the differences between Achyuta and Rāmarāya and induced them to enter into an agreement. According to its terms Achyutarāya was to be the emperor with full authority over the whole empire excluding the estates of Rāmarāya which he should be allowed to rule as an independent prince with full sovereign powers. Having thus settled the affairs of Vijayanagara Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh marched away to his kingdom. The terms of this agreement were faithfully observed by both the parties, and Achyuta ruled the empire in peace until his death in 1542.

Venkata I and Tirumala I (1543)

Achyuta was succeeded by his young son, Venkata I. As he was not of age, his maternal uncle, Salakarāju China Tirumala became the regent of the kingdom, though most of the nobles were opposed to him. Tirumala was not loyal to his nephew; being desirous of making himself king, he began to plot against the king. The queen-mother, Varadambikā, became suspicious of her brother's good faith, and appealed to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to help her in securing the throne for her son. But he was bought off by Tirumala and the appeal of the queen-mother made the position of her son more precarious than ever.

Rāmarāya, who was closely watching the trend of events at Vijayanagara, now stepped into the field. He proceeded to Gutti where Achyuta's nephew, Sadāshiva, was imprisoned, set him at liberty, and proclaiming him the emperor sent an appeal to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for help. In response to the request, 'Ādil Shāh invaded Vijayanagara kingdom and advanced upon the capital. The people of the city, greatly alarmed at the danger, made Tirumala their king. He defeated 'Ādil Shāh very near his capital and put him to flight. To clear his path of all rivals, Tirumala strangled his nephew and massacred all the members of the royal family on whom he could lay hands. He became suspicious and in his fear he attacked friend and foe alike. His rule degenerated into downright tyranny. He was against everyone, and everyone in the kingdom was against him. The people in their distress appealed to 'Ādil Shāh for help. He came readily, not so much to help them as to seize the kingdom for himself. His hauteur and high-handed behaviour roused hostility all round and he was obliged to retire into his own kingdom as quickly as he came.

Rāmarāya saw that the time for him to make a bid for the throne had at last come. He gathered together his forces and proceeded to take possession of the empire in the name of Sadāshiva, the lawful heir to the throne. Tirumala did not easily submit. He offered stubborn resistance but suffered defeat everywhere. At last, in the battle of the Tungabhadra, Rāmarāya overthrew him and put him to death. The inhabitants of the capital heaved a sigh of relief, and throwing open the gates of the city welcomed Rāmarāya and his ward, the new emperor.

Sadāshiva and Rāmarāya (1543-1564)

Sadāshiva ascended the throne about the middle of 1543. As his rivals were all destroyed by Salakarāju Tirumala he became the undisputed master of the whole of Vijayanagara empire. His rule was only nominal till 1552, the actual ruler of the empire being Rāmarāya. But in 1552 he had to recognise Rāmarāya as his co-regent, as the latter, not content with actual power, assumed the royal titles, as if he were a crowned monarch himself.

The accession of Sadāshiva brought in its train certain important changes in the administration and the policy of the empire. In the first place, the old civil service on which the stability of the empire depended was considerably weakened, if not actually destroyed. The Brahmin officers who formed the bulwark of the State fell into disfavour with Rāmarāya, as they upheld loyally the cause of Achyuta and opposed his usurpation. The first step which he

took after placing Sadāshiva firmly upon the throne was to dismiss all the hostile officers from the service of the State and appoint to places of trust and responsibility his own relatives, friends and followers. So long as the central government was strong, and could exact obedience to its commands, the effects of this change were not felt; but as soon as the centre showed signs of weakness, the people who rose to power by Rāmarāya's favour, freed from the shackles of the civil service, began to manifest discontent and disloyalty and destroyed the unity of the empire.

Secondly, enormous increase of Muslim officers to responsible positions in the government undermined the strength of the State. In his eagerness to seize power Rāmarāya enlisted in his service as many Muslim mercenaries and adventurers as he could get and offered them facilities to get a knowledge of the internal affairs of the empire. With the increase of Muhammadans in the army and the service of the government, the loyalty of the one and the safety of the other were considerably jeopardised.

Another important fact that must be noted here is the change in the attitude of the government of Vijayanagara in her relations with the Muslim kingdoms. Though the Rāyas ever since the foundation of the kingdom came into contact with the Musalmans, they never interfered in the relations between the Muslim States of Deccan. Rāmarāya was the first ruler of Vijayanagara to entangle himself in the inter-State politics of the Muhammadan kingdoms. Although he achieved by means of his great military strength and cleverness considerable success and established his influence over the Muslim kingdoms, the rapid growth of his power so alarmed his allies and enemies that they joined together ultimately and brought his downfall in the fateful battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota).

The Southern Expedition (1543-44)

As soon as Rāmarāya performed Sadāshiva's coronation at Vijayanagara, he was obliged to bestow immediate attention to the affairs of the Southern provinces of the empire, where owing to a number of causes great unrest prevailed. The Southern chiefs and noblemen, who a few years earlier defied Rāmarāya, when having imprisoned Achyuta he seized power, were no more inclined to submit to his authority than before. Moreover, the Portuguese missionaries were making trouble in the extreme south. They converted large number of Paravas of the Fishery Coast to Christianity and induced them to recognise the king of Portugal as their overlord, thereby encroaching on the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Further, their in-

trigues with the rebellious chiefs of the South and plundering expeditions of the Portuguese Governor of Goa against the rich South Indian Hindu shrines created a situation which must have caused grave concern in the capital. Rāmarāya therefore despatched a large army under his cousins, China Timma and Vitthala, to put down the rebels, foil the attempts of the Portuguese and restore the imperial authority all over the South.

The expedition set out from Vijayanagara. At first China Timma captured Chandragiri in the north of the Chittoor district; and having put down the rebels with a stern hand he brought the whole of Tondaimandalam to subjection. He next marched into the Chola country, reduced the fort of Bhuvanagiri and attacked the port of Nagore where he destroyed the enemies, probably the Portuguese, and restored the wealth of God Rāganātha which they had seized. Then he crossed the Kaveri, and having entered Pudukkottai region, exacted from the local chiefs tribute which they had refused to the imperial government, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions of the empire.

China Timma advanced farther south and reached without opposition Madura, where he met the Pāṇḍya king, obviously of Tenkasi, who came to him soliciting his help against Bettumperumal, the ruler of Tuticorin and Kayattar. Though the forces of the 'Five Tiruvadis' (small principalities) of Travancore met the invading army of China Timma at Tovala Pass they were beaten and dispersed. The rest of Travancore was then invaded. Its ruler ('Iniquitibirim') was defeated but received into favour and was allowed to rule over a large part of his old territory. The victorious general China Timma set up a pillar of victory at Cape Comorin.

Rāmarāya and the Portuguese

Rāmarāya had also to come to an early understanding with the Portuguese. They were the masters of the seas. All the sea-borne trade, specially the all-important trade in horses, passed through their hands. The Portuguese, who were friendly to Vijayanagara in the days of the great Krishnadevarāya, had turned hostile and manifested a tendency to fish in the troubled waters. They were guilty of destruction of the Hindu temples, plunder of the rich South Indian shrines, the mass conversion of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, and attempt to extend their temporal power under the cloak of religion. Though all these hostile acts loudly called for reprisals, Rāmarāya was not strong enough to chastise them. He could not afford to quarrel with them, as that would drive them into the hands of the Muslim States. He therefore concluded a

took after placing Sadāshiva firmly upon the throne was to dismiss all the hostile officers from the service of the State and appoint to places of trust and responsibility his own relatives, friends and followers. So long as the central government was strong, and could exact obedience to its commands, the effects of this change were not felt; but as soon as the centre showed signs of weakness, the people who rose to power by Rāmarāya's favour, freed from the shackles of the civil service, began to manifest discontent and disloyalty and destroyed the unity of the empire.

Secondly, enormous increase of Muslim officers to responsible positions in the government undermined the strength of the State. In his eagerness to seize power Rāmarāya enlisted in his service as many Muslim mercenaries and adventurers as he could get and offered them facilities to get a knowledge of the internal affairs of the empire. With the increase of Muhammadans in the army and the service of the government, the loyalty of the one and the safety of the other were considerably jeopardised.

Another important fact that must be noted here is the change in the attitude of the government of Vijayanagara in her relations with the Muslim kingdoms. Though the Rāyas ever since the foundation of the kingdom came into contact with the Musalmans, they never interfered in the relations between the Muslim States of Deccan. Rāmarāya was the first ruler of Vijayanagara to entangle himself in the inter-State politics of the Muhammadan kingdoms. Although he achieved by means of his great military strength and cleverness considerable success and established his influence over the Muslim kingdoms, the rapid growth of his power so alarmed his allies and enemies that they joined together ultimately and brought his downfall in the fateful battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota).

The Southern Expedition (1543-44)

As soon as Rāmarāya performed Sadāshiva's coronation at Vijayanagara, he was obliged to bestow immediate attention to the affairs of the Southern provinces of the empire, where owing to a number of causes great unrest prevailed. The Southern chiefs and noblemen, who a few years earlier defied Rāmarāya, when having imprisoned Achyuta he seized power, were no more inclined to submit to his authority than before. Moreover, the Portuguese missionaries were making trouble in the extreme south. They converted large number of Paravas of the Fishery Coast to Christianity and induced them to recognise the king of Portugal as their overlord, thereby encroaching on the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Further, their in-

partiality towards Nizām Shāh and brought trouble upon his own head. Briefly stated, the events of this war are as follows: when the news of Vijayanagara's intended invasion reached Bidar, Barīd Shāh collected his armies and proceeded to the frontier to repel the invaders. A fierce engagement took place; and Barīd Shāh who was personally leading the force was defeated and taken prisoner together with his ministers. As a consequence of this defeat Barīd Shāh had to join 'Alī Adil Shāh and fight against their enemies.

The Battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (1565)

The battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi¹ described in the preceding chapter, was the Waterloo of Vijayanagara history. Though Vijayanagara empire flourished for nearly another century, with the fall of Rāmarāya on the field of Rakshasi-Tangadi in 1565, its glory began to wane and it ceased to be the dominant power in the Deccan, and the Rāyas never attempted once again to recover their lost ground. The history of this great battle is, however, immersed in obscurity. Excepting the fact that the Vijayanagara army was practically annihilated and Rāmarāya was slain, everything else concerning the battle is doubtful and uncertain. This is due in a great measure to the wilful distortion of facts by Muslim historians, and the absence of contemporary evidence with the help of which their accounts may be checked and truth ascertained.

First of all, the name of the battle itself calls for discussion. The battle of Talikota is a misnomer. Though all the Muslim writers state that the Great Battle was fought near the village of Talikota, it did not take place, as shown by the accounts given by themselves, anywhere near the village but at a distance of about twenty-five miles to the south of it, somewhere on the southern bank of the Krishna. The Hindu accounts unanimously refer to it as the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi,² and state that it was so called because it was fought between the two villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, situated on the northern bank of the Krishna near its confluence with the river Malapahari. As this is roughly in agreement with the topographical details furnished by Muslim historians, it seems certain that the actual site of the battle was the plain between the villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, as stated in the Hindu records.³

Similarly, the causes which led to the formation of the confederacy of the Deccani Muslim rulers against Rāmarāya and the outbreak of the war which ended in his downfall and death are not definitely known. Firishta, no doubt, attributes it to the insult which Rāmarāya is alleged to have offered to Muslim women and faith. This, however, is not supported by independent evidence. The real

cause appears to have been the jealousy which the Sultāns of the Deccan, specially the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, felt at the growing power of Vijayanagara, and the ascendancy which Rāmarāya established over the Muslim States of the Deccan. True, Rāmarāya annexed, as stated by Firishta, some territories belonging to his enemies, and treated perhaps the envoys of some of them with scant courtesy; but that was not uncommon in medieval India, and Rāmarāya did not violate the code of international morality, as then understood, in dealing with his enemies. It is not reasonable to suppose, as is generally done, that the Sultāns of the Deccan, enraged by the outrageous conduct of Rāmarāya, joined against him to defend their faith, protect the honour of their women and save their kingdom from his high-handed aggressions. Again, it is extremely doubtful whether the rulers of all the five Deccan Muslim States joined the confederacy against Rāmarāya. Imād Shāh of Berār, for one, did not participate in it. 'Ādil Shāh appears to have sat on the fence until almost the very end, leaving the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda to bear the brunt of the fight. Although Firishta attributes to 'Ādil Shāh the credit of fostering the alliance of Muslim rulers against Rāmarāya, and other Muhammadan writers make him one of the principal leaders of the league, he held aloof, according to the unanimous testimony of the Hindu records, until almost the end of the war, when he was constrained to join the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda by threats, cajolery and promises of territorial concession. Nor is opinion less divided about the duration of the war. The Muhammadan historians make it a very short affair. The Muslim armies assembled at Talikota and advanced to the bank of the Krishna where they were opposed by Rāmarāya. A fierce engagement took place on 23 January, 1565; after the fighting had gone on for a few hours, Rāmarāya fell into the hands of the enemy and his army took to flight. This settled the fate of the mighty Hindu empire. The battle is said to have lasted but a while, not even the space of a few hours. This is incredible. Considering the extent, the resources, the man-power, and the past military record, it is inconceivable how the armies of the Deccani Sultāns which severally and conjointly suffered defeats repeatedly on so many occasions at the hands of Rāmarāya could have overthrown him within a space of less than four hours. According to the Hindu accounts, on the contrary, the war lasted for more than six months, during which several battles were fought, victory veering now to one side and now to another. One battle especially is said to have raged with intense fury for 27 days, and in the final engagement the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda suffered and retreated from the field in confusion. What the Sultāns failed to achieve by force

of arms they gained by treachery. The Muslim historians are not in agreement about the circumstances under which Rāmarāya was slain. According to Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the earliest Muslim historian who describes the battle, the combined armies of Husain Nizām-ul-Mulk, ‘Ādil Khān Qutb-ul-Mulk and Malik Barīd were on the point of defeat when a chance shot from one of the guns of Husain carried off Rāmarāya's head, and the Hindu army gave up fighting. While attempting to flee, they were surrounded and cut to pieces. Caesar Frederick attributes Muslim victory to the treachery of the Muslim troops in the service of Rāmarāya. Treachery was not confined to Mussalmans in Rāmarāya's service only. In *Keladīnīpa Vijayam* it is stated that his ally, ‘Ali Adil Shāh, who had been pretending to be neutral, owing to fear of his fellow Muslim rulers, secretly joined them and fell upon him unexpectedly. Taken unawares, Rāmarāya was not able to offer effective resistance and while attempting to defend himself gallantly he was captured and beheaded. The Vijayanagara Army which was already thrown into confusion by the treachery of their Muslim comrades was panic-stricken by the sudden tragedy and immediately took to flight.

Though the rule of Rāmarāya ended in a great military disaster, which nearly destroyed the Vijayanagara empire, it was without doubt a period of unprecedented glory. Rāmarāya was indeed one of the greatest Hindu monarchs who ever ruled over South India. It was not without justification that he was spoken of by the people of his age as Bade Rāmarāya or Rāmarāya the great. During this time, the authority of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, according to traditions, extended all over South India and Deccan, from Setu in the South to the Narmada in the North. This is true in a sense, for all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan had to submit at one time or another to his power and carry out his behests. Rāmarāya was a great soldier and diplomat. The skill with which he planned the campaign against Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh reveals his profound grasp over military strategy, and his dealings with the Deccani Sultāns, their nobles and the Portuguese show his mastery over the art of diplomacy. His influence over the internal administration of the empire was not quite salutary. With the object of strengthening his power he destroyed very early in his career the civil service which kept under check the centrifugal tendencies of the *amaranāyakas* (fief-holders). Though no harm was done during the rule of Rāmarāya when the power of the central government was strong, the evils made themselves manifest in the years of anarchy which immediately followed the disaster of Rakshasi-Tangadi. Rāmarāya was a great patron of art and letters. Many writers in Sanskrit and Telugu flourished at his court. Some of the finest buildings and temples were built in his

time. His outlook on religion was broad and liberal. Himself a staunch follower of Śrīvaishṇavism, he never placed any restraint on liberty of worship of the adherents of other sects. Vaishṇavas, Śaivas, Jains, Muhammadans, Christians and Jews were all treated equally and enjoyed the same privileges. Notwithstanding the wars in which he was frequently engaged he looked after the welfare of his subjects; and the people were on the whole happy and contented under his rule.

Sadāśiva and Tirumala (1566-1570)

According to the village *kaifiyats* in the Andhra area, for six years after the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi anarchy reigned supreme. Several causes contributed to produce this result. The break-down of the power of the central government and the absence of proper local administrative machinery to enforce its authority let loose the forces of disintegration. The kinsmen and the friends to whom Rāmarāya entrusted the administration of the kingdom asserted their independence and began to fight among themselves for strengthening their power and extending their dominion. Of the many nobles who usurped power and rose to prominence, the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee deserve special mention. The first, who had his *amaram* (fief) in the marches of Travancore, quickly subdued all the territory extending to the south of the Kaveri and established himself at Madura. The second, who had a few *simas* on the banks of the Coleroon, made himself master of the fertile Chola country. And the last who was probably the commandant of the fort of Gingee seized the major part of Tondaimandalam and began to rule it as if he were an independent prince. To add to the confusion, the *Pālayagars*, to whom the task of maintaining law and order and protecting the highways was entrusted, turned bandits and robbed the countryside and spread terror in the minds of the people.

Tirumala, who after the death of his brother Rāmarāya made himself the regent of the kingdom and the protector, was unable to check the progress of anarchy. In the first place, he had no army, and to recruit fresh forces, he had no money. Secondly, family dissensions added considerably to his trouble. Timma or Peda Tirumala, the son of his brother Rāmarāya, aspired to become the regent in succession to his father, and unable to contend against his uncle appealed to 'Ali 'Adil Shāh for help. The latter, desirous of profiting by the family quarrels at Vijayanagara, complied with Tirumala's request and sent forces to his assistance. Tirumala, who had returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muslim army, found that under these circumstances, it was not possible

for him to carry on the government from the city. He returned to Penugonda, and anticipating an attack from the city, strengthened its fortifications. As a matter of fact, 'Ādil Shāh sent an army under Khizr Khan to invest the fort; but the commandant Savaram Chennappa Nayadu beat back the attack. At the same time Tirumala persuaded Nizām Shāh to invade the Bijāpur territory from the north and make a diversion in his favour; and 'Ādil Shāh had to beat a hasty retreat to protect his dominions. By a sudden turn of events, he was able to carry the war into the enemy's territory. The Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda who were embroiled in a war with 'Ādil Shāh, invited Tirumala to join them; and in response to this invitation, he sent one of his sons with ten thousand men. Tirumala gained nothing by this alliance; instead he involved himself in fresh troubles. For, the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda made up their differences with 'Ādil Shāh and returned to their kingdoms; and the latter, to punish Tirumala for making common cause with his enemies, invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The main objective of the invasion was the capture of the fort of Adoni where one of Rāmarāya's cousins to whom he entrusted the government of the district asserted his independence. To prevent however Tirumala from sending troops he despatched an army against Penugonda. 'Ādil Shāh succeeded in achieving his object. Though the army sent against Penugonda was defeated and driven back by Tirumala, he reduced Adoni to subjection and made himself master of the entire Krishna-Tungabhadra doab.

Tirumala was not able therefore to check the treacherous activities of the *amaranāyakas* (fief-holders). And by the time he could equip himself with an army and concert measures to restore royal authority they became too strong to be tackled easily. Tirumala was a realist. He knew that, under the circumstances, it was impossible to restore the old state of affairs. The *amaranāyakas* who usurped the royal domain were too many. He was old and had no time to embark upon a systematic re-conquest of the empire. Tirumala therefore resolved to compromise with the *Nāyaks* and bring them back to subjection. By tacitly approving of their usurpations he won them over to his side. As a consequence of this, though the royal authority was restored throughout the empire, the empire itself lost its character. It was no longer a military empire of which the Rāya was absolute master. Instead it became a conglomeration of semi-independent principalities of which he was the head. The changed character of the empire brought in its train an important innovation in the administration. To keep the *amaranāyakas* under control, Tirumala divided the empire into three subdivisions, roughly corresponding to the three main linguistic areas

of which it was composed, and entrusted the government of each of them to one of his three sons. Śrīraṅga, the eldest, was placed in charge of all the Telugu districts with Penugonda as his headquarters. Rāma, the second, was to rule the Karnataka from Śrīrangapattana; and Venkatapati, the youngest who resided in Chandragiri, was to look after the affairs of the entire Tamil country.

Tirumala successfully overcame the obstacles that beset his path: he brought back the rebellious *amaranāyakas* to subjection, and arrested the forces of disintegration which were fast undermining the foundation of the empire. Having accomplished the task of rejuvenating the empire he assumed the title of 'the reviver of the decadent Karnataka empire' and formally crowned himself in 1570 A.D. as the emperor at Penugonda. It is said on the authority of certain foreign travellers, that Tirumala, or at his instance one of his sons, specially Venkatapati, assassinated the emperor Sadāśhiva before the coronation. This is not probably true. In the first place Sadāśhiva was quite harmless, and he gave no trouble to Tirumala in governing the empire. Secondly, there is ample epigraphic evidence to show that Sadāśhiva did not fall a victim to the assassin's knife before Tirumala's coronation, but was alive until A.D. 1576, long after the death of the latter and the accession of his son, Śrīraṅga I.

Tirumala did not rule long—probably for not more than a year—and abdicated in favour of his son Śrīraṅga. He spent the remaining days of his life in retirement, studying philosophy and religion. To him belongs the credit of giving the lease of life to the framework of the empire of Vijayanagara for a century more.

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The next king, Venkata II (1586-1614), not only re-conquered from the Muslims most of the territories lost by his predecessor, but also crushed the nobles and the *Palayagārs* who attempted to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves.

The disputed succession after the death of Venkata II led to a civil war which lasted for four years and ended with the accession of Rāmadevarāya (1618-1630). His reign was full of rebellions, in

which the Nāyaks of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore, who had played a prominent role in the civil war, also figured prominently. The Sultān of Bijāpur took advantage of this to seize Kurnool.

The reign of the next king, Venkata III (1630-1641), also witnessed another civil war lasting for four or five years during which many petty chieftains, who were practically independent, fought among themselves, and some of them, even including the king, sought for the help of the Muslim Sultāns of the Deccan. As a result the Sultān of Bijāpur conquered the Kannada districts and the Sultān of Golconda invaded the east coast. Venkata III opposed him but was defeated and died shortly after.

His nephew, Śrīraṅga III, who had joined the Sultān of Bijāpur against him, now proclaimed himself Emperor and ruled for seven years (1642-1649). He settled matters with the Sultān of Bijāpur and with his help recovered the fort of Udayagiri which was seized by the forces of Golconda. It is worthy of note that the Nāyaks or Chiefs, though still paying nominal allegiance to the 'Emperor' of Vijayanagara, not only rendered no help to him in driving away the Muslim invader and caused difficulty to him by breaking into revolts, but even invited the Sultān of Golconda to invade Vijayanagara territory promising to attack their 'Emperor' from behind. Accordingly the forces of Golconda invaded Vijayanagara. Śrīraṅga quickly despatched an ambassador to Gingee to win over the Nāyak; and the latter consented to delay the despatch of his forces, pending the arrival of instructions from his allies, the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore. Taking advantage of the respite Śrīraṅga marched at the head of his troops and in a battle fought on the bank of Vengallu, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Golconda army, and chased them as far as Kandukur in the north of the Nellore district. Śrīraṅga's triumph was, however, shortlived, for the Sultān of Golconda obtained help from Bijāpur, and unable to resist the advance of the combined armies of the two Muslim rulers, he abandoned Kandukur and retired to the interior of his dominions. The armies of Golconda and Bijāpur made their appearance on the Vijayanagara frontier; the former under Mir Jumla overran the eastern parts of the Kurnool district, and the latter under Khān-i-Khānān reduced Nandyal, Sirivolla, Kanigiri and other forts farther west. At this stage the Sultān of Golconda suspended the war, probably due to an agreement with Śrīraṅga III.

The situation in the South became serious. The Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee joined together and set up the standard of rebellion. Śrīraṅga withdrew his forces from the north, and proceeded to the south burning and plundering the country until he

of which it was composed, and entrusted the government of each of them to one of his three sons. Śrīraṅga, the eldest, was placed in charge of all the Telugu districts with Penugonda as his headquarters. Rāma, the second, was to rule the Karnataka from Śrīrangapattana; and Venkatapati, the youngest who resided in Chandragiri, was to look after the affairs of the entire Tamil country.

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While Mustafā Khān and Khān-i-Khānān were busy in the western Telugu country, the Nāyaks marched on Vellore. Though Śrīraṅga sent an army into the southern districts to distract their attention, it produced no fruitful results; but in an engagement which took place in December, 1645, between him and the Nāyak army, Śrīraṅga suffered a defeat and crept into the fort. He then made an attempt to come to an understanding with the Nāyaks.

The combined attack of the Muslim powers on the empire of Vijayanagara seems to have at last awakened the fear of common danger in the minds of the Nāyaks; for with the exception of the treacherous Tirumal Nāyak of Madura, they joined Śrīraṅga. At the head of a large army consisting of 10,000 horse, and 1,40,000 foot soldiers he advanced against Mustafā Khān. A battle was fought in which, though victorious, he could gain no advantage owing to the desertion of the Nāyaks of Kangudi and Mysore.

Śrīraṅga retreated to his capital, and Mustafā Khān, having first reduced the territories of Jayadeva Rao to subjection, followed him there. The Nāyaks became friendly to Śrīraṅga and promised to send him men and money to defend his capital; but before help could reach him, Mustafā Khān arrived in the neighbourhood, and he was obliged, unprepared as he was, to give him battle. In a fierce engagement which took place near Vellore on 4 April, 1646, he suffered defeat, and crept into the fort, to which Mustafā Khān laid siege soon after. The Nāyaks, who were jealous of one another, could not arrive at any decision to help their king. In the meanwhile Mir Jumla, having completed the conquest of Chittivel, moved towards the east, captured Ponneri, Poonamalli, Kanchipuram and Chingleput one after another in quick succession and was encamped in the neighbourhood of Vellore. The Nāyaks were divided among themselves; the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingee were weak, and it was not possible for them to oppose the Golconda army; but the Nāyaks of Mysore and Madura united their forces and attempted to ward off the danger. They suffered, however, a severe defeat at the hands of Mir Jumla, who then marched on Gingee and laid siege to the fort.

Mir Jumla's victory over Madura and Mysore and his investment of Gingee roused the jealousy of Bijāpur; and Mustafā and Khān-i-Khānān hastened to the neighbourhood with their forces with the object of preventing him from capturing the fort. On the approach of Bijāpur generals, Mir Jumla entered into an agreement with them and retired into the Qutb Shāhi territories leaving them free to prosecute their designs. After Mir Jumla's departure, the Bijāpur armies laid siege to Gingee and captured it. With the fall

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